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Shaggy Crowns

Ennius' *Annales* and Virgil's *Aeneid*

Nora Goldschmidt



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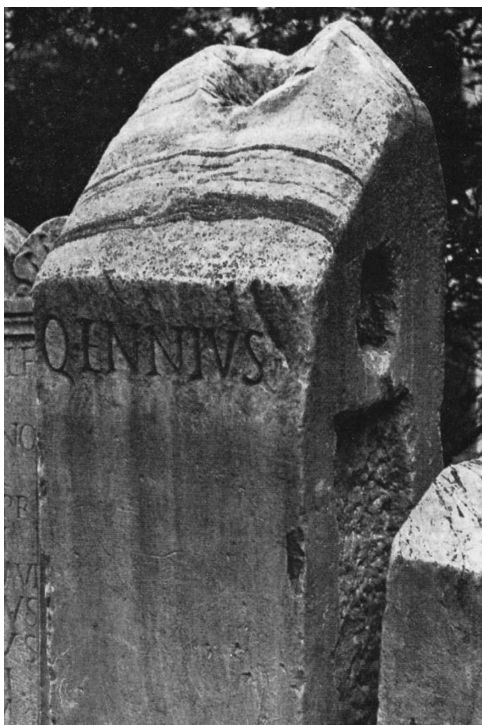
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Shaggy Crowns

Ennius' Annales and Virgil's Aeneid

NORA GOLDSCHMIDT



Herm bust inscribed 'Q. Ennius', Terme di Diocleziano, Rome

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Abbreviations

Unless otherwise noted, the text and numbering of fragments of the *Annales* in this monograph follow Skutsch's edition (*The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford, 1985)), while the text of Virgil follows the Oxford Classical Text (R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)). Standard editions of other ancient authors are used and abbreviated according to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd rev. edn., Oxford, 2003). Abbreviations of modern journal titles follow *L'Année philologique*. Other abbreviations are as follows:

Courtney <i>FLP</i>	E. Courtney, <i>The Fragmentary Latin Poets</i> (Oxford, 1993)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , 17 vols. (Berlin, 1863–)
<i>CLE</i>	F. Bücheler and E. Lommatzsch (eds.), <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1825–1926)
Dangel	J. Dangel (ed. and trans.), <i>Accius. Œuvres (fragments)</i> (Paris, 1995)
<i>EV</i>	F. Della Corte (ed.), <i>Enciclopedia Virgiliana</i> , 5 vols. (Rome, 1984–91)
Flores	E. Flores, P. Esposito, G. Jackson, M. Paladini, M. Salvatore, and D. Tomasco (eds.), <i>Quinto Ennio. Annali</i> , 5 vols. (Naples, 2000–9)
<i>FPL</i>	J. Blänsdorf, <i>Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum praeter Enni Annales et Ciceronis Germanicique Aratea</i> (4th edn., Berlin, 2011)
<i>FRH</i>	H. Beck and U. Walter (eds. and trans.), <i>Die frühen römischen Historiker</i> , 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 2001–4)
<i>GRF</i>	G. Funaioli (ed.), <i>Grammaticae romanae fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1907)
Krenkel	W. Krenkel (ed. and trans.), <i>Lucilius. Satiren</i> , 2 vols. (Leiden, 1970)
Jocelyn	H. D. Jocelyn (ed.), <i>The Tragedies of Ennius: The Fragments</i> (Cambridge, 1967)
Leumann	M. Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> , 2 vols. (1965–77)
<i>LTUR</i>	E. M. Steinby (ed.), <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> , 6 vols. (Rome, 1993–9)
Manuwald	G. Manuwald, <i>Fabulae praetextae. Spuren einer literarischen Gattung der Römer</i> (Munich, 2001)
Marx	F. Marx (ed.), <i>C. Lucilii carminum reliquiae</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1904–5)

OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1968–82)
Peter	H. W. G. Peter (ed.), <i>Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1906–14)
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, et al. (eds.), <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)
Skutsch	O. Skutsch (ed.), <i>The Annals of Q. Ennius</i> (Oxford, 1985)
Str.	L. Strzelecki (ed.), <i>Cn. Naevii Belli Punici carmen</i> (Leipzig, 1964)
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900–)
Vahlen ¹	J. Vahlen (ed.), <i>Ennianae poesis reliquiae</i> (Leipzig, 1854)
Vahlen ²	J. Vahlen (ed.), <i>Ennianae poesis reliquiae</i> (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1903)
Warmington	E. H. Warmington (ed. and trans.), <i>Remains of Old Latin</i> , 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1956–61)

Introduction

I. FRAGMENTS

The only securely attested visual representation we have of Quintus Ennius, the poet once known as *pater Ennius*, ‘the father of Roman poetry’, is a herm bust inscribed ‘Q. Ennius’ now in the Thermae of Diocletian in Rome.¹ The most striking feature of this herm is that the head is missing; although a number of other portraits have been conjectured as Ennius’ lost image, identification of these remains highly questionable.² Like his image, the poet whom Virgil’s first readers knew as the monumental epicist of Republican Rome has survived with neither the same dignity nor the same status he once enjoyed. Ennius’ textual remains, however, are somewhat better preserved than his image, particularly in the case of his epic, *Annales*. More than 620 lines or partial lines survived because they were quoted by other authors. The collation of, and commentary on, these has been the concern of a long line of scholars. Publication of the collected fragments of Ennius’ epic began in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.³ A key landmark in the tradition is the work of Johannes Vahlen;⁴ but the text that has become standard is Otto Skutsch’s magisterial 1985 Oxford edition, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*. A long time in the making, Skutsch’s edition builds on a distinguished line of past scholars and has some of the biggest names in classical scholarship behind it. The book is impressively dedicated to the remembrance of ‘F.S.; E.F.; W.M.L.; A.E.H.’: Skutsch’s father, Franz

¹ See frontispiece.

² For extensive bibliography on the controversial search for an authentic extant portrait of Ennius, see Suerbaum (2003), 212. On the headless herm, apparently older than others in the Thermae, and on its possible origins as a copy of a (perhaps Republican) original, see Hafner (1968), 44–6; Vaglieri (1903). The stylized figure, likewise named ‘Ennius’, of a mature man wearing a leafy crown in the ‘Monnus-Mosaic’ in Trier (cover), which dates from the third century AD, despite optimistic speculation (Schefold (1997), 390–2), is probably based on literary representations of *pater Ennius* (Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.7; Prop. 3.3.6) and his *corona* (Lucr. 1.118; Prop. 4.1.61).

³ Stephanus (1564), an edition that included the *Annales* as part of a number of early Latin fragmentary poets begun by Robertus Stephanus and completed by his son

Skutsch (who published the Pauly-Wissowa article on Ennius⁵), Eduard Fraenkel, W. M. Lindsay, and A. E. Housman.⁶ Skutsch, too, was in dialogue with Sebastiano Timpanaro, one of the great philologists of the last century, who had produced a dissertation (with the encouragement of another important Italian scholar, Giorgio Pasquali) laying the groundwork for a new edition of the text of Ennius.⁷ Although he did not take the project further than journal publication partly because of overlap with Skutsch, Timpanaro continued to publish on Ennius and to correspond with his potential rival to discuss and influence his *Enniana*.⁸ While Skutsch's edition is impressive and relatively convenient, it is not definitive. A new edition of the *Annales* under the general editorship of Enrico Flores, though it does not aim to replace Skutsch, reconsiders both the textual scholarship of the sources and the contextual placement of the fragments.⁹

Even the long scholarly labour bestowed upon the *Annales*, however, does not eradicate the problems involved in studying fragments. Dealing with fragmentary evidence is difficult, particularly when its main source is citation in the works of other ancient authors. Source bias is a problem: quoting sources have their own agendas, which can distort our sense of the preoccupations and shape of the original text.¹⁰

Henricus (the famous Henri Estienne). An important edition dedicated to Ennius' fragments was also produced by H. Columna (Columna (1585)), while the emulative desire to find more of the lost text was so great in another sixteenth-century editor, Paul Merula, that he included a number of fragments in his 1595 edition from sources known only to himself, later discovered to be forgeries (Skutsch, *Spuria* 17–42; Lawicki (1852); Goldschmidt (2012)).

⁴ *Ennianae poesis reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1854) (= Vahlen¹) and reworked over a long period (*Ennianae poesis reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1903) (= Vahlen²).

⁵ F. Skutsch (1905).

⁶ 'Skutsch wished the *Annals of Q. Ennius* to be seen in the light of the history of classical scholarship' (Breed and Rossi (2006), 398 n. 2). Skutsch's numerous articles on Ennian matters appeared in a number of journals over the years, many of which are published together as *Studia Enniana* (Skutsch (1968)).

⁷ Timpanaro (1946), (1947), (1948). For Timpanaro's own biographical notes on this, see Timpanaro (1986) and Horsfall (1988), 1–3.

⁸ Horsfall (1988), 1–5. The two did not always agree on food as well as philology: Skutsch, as Timpanaro recalls, disliked eating spaghetti: *cum serpentibus luctari nequeo* ('I can't wrestle with snakes' (Horsfall (1988), 3).

⁹ As Gildenhard (2008), 109, puts it, the fact that Flores and his team often take a different line from Skutsch provides 'a salutary reminder that Skutsch's work, however monumental, is less definitive than it may appear'. The papyrus discoveries from Herculaneum now considered to be from Ennius' *Annales* are unfortunately very fragmentary and highly damaged, which means that their contribution can currently only be minimal. The *pezzi*, however, appear to be mostly from Book 6; PHerc.

We are luckier, however, with the remains of the *Annales* than with many other similarly preserved texts. The epic is quoted by a variety of sources, sometimes yielding multiple citations for a single fragment, and more than half of the total number of extant lines are quoted by grammarians and antiquarians largely interested in particular words or metrics; this might suggest that the poem used a stranger language and style than in fact it did, but it has the distinct advantage that the content of the line they choose is almost certain to be random.¹¹ Gauging the original context of a fragment, too, remains a problematic task. On the small scale, we can never be quite certain of the reference of a particular line or group of lines. Even when we have attestations of book numbers, context often remains a matter of judicious speculation and balance of evidence; Skutsch's edition and those of others are useful, here, but again, not necessarily right. On a larger scale, fragmentary texts can badly distort what might once have been a narratologically and allusively sophisticated work. Scholarship on Ennius in the past few decades has done much to stress that the *Annales* were much more complex than had been imagined by previous generations of scholars, including Skutsch.¹² The poem was engaged in sophisticated literary self-positioning, setting itself up in relation to its predecessors both implicitly and explicitly in ways that equal even the most self-conscious of its successors,¹³ and it was clearly far more complex in its structure, focalization, deployment of divine machinery, and use of time than the kind of text earlier reconstructions—based on the

21 *pezzo* 5 fr. 2 and 3 may therefore help to place *Ann. sed. inc.* 469–70 and 555–6 respectively in this book. See Kleve (1990); Suerbaum (1995); Fantham (2006).

¹⁰ An important and thorough consideration of the sources of the *Annales* and their interests is provided by Elliott (2005), part of a larger study that sets out to consider afresh the nature and structure of Ennius' epic: I am very grateful to the author for kindly letting me see her doctoral dissertation, the monograph version of which, forthcoming with Cambridge University Press, I was unable to consult in time for my own revisions. Cf. also Zetzel (2007) on the ways in which Cicero, a major source for the *Annales*, may have influenced modern conceptions of the poem and the poet. On problems in editing fragments, see esp. Most (1997); Stephens (2002); cf. Kenneth Dover's comments on the fragmentary rivals of Aristophanes in Harvey and Wilkins (2000), pp. xvii–xix.

¹¹ See Elliott (2005), 103, on the 'genuinely random sample from the poem' offered by such sources. Elliott calculates ((2005), 103 and appendix D) that such quotations account for 356 out of a total of 623 extant lines of the poem. As Skutsch is aware, sources like Servius who use phrases such as *locus Ennianus* with widely varying degrees of accuracy also pose problems.

assumption that Ennius had produced a simply ‘annalistic’ and jingoistic account of Roman history—had imagined.¹⁴ At the same time, scholars with a particular interest in cultural history have homed in on Ennius’ epic as a key text in Roman culture of the early Republic, so situating the poet and his work in a much more sophisticated cultural climate than earlier work allowed.¹⁵

Building on recent work on Ennius’ epic, comments on the *Annales* here, though they may include some speculation, will be based on careful review of the evidence available and awareness of the possible distortions caused by the poem’s transmission and reception, as well as the cultural contexts in which the epic was first produced and received. Essentially, however, rather than aiming at a definition of what the original *Annales* were ‘really like’, this book remains primarily about the reception of Ennius’ epic in the first century BC. For this, we in fact have more evidence than we do for the text itself: for how the poem was read, and for how—already mediated by a century-and-a-half of reception—it was used, quoted, and negotiated in Virgil’s *Aeneid*. In a study of the reception of Ennius in the first century BC, moreover, source ‘bias’ can, in fact, become an advantage: among the major citation sources for the *Annales* are Cicero and Varro, two of the most influential authors in the period, whose constructions of Ennius influenced his reception in Augustan Rome, and whose quotations of the *Annales* reflect not just the authors’ personal bias, but the parts of Ennius’ epic that wider contemporary audiences could readily be expected to know.¹⁶ The major post-Virgilian sources, Servius and Macrobius, meanwhile, quoted Ennius primarily as a source for Virgil’s *Aeneid* and in doing so preserved the kinds of verbal parallels seen in the *Aeneid*’s use of texts that survive complete, thereby reflecting, in part at least, how Virgil, alert to verbal patterns and repetitions, might have used and digested his predecessor.¹⁷

¹² See esp. Goldberg (1995); Gildenhard (2003); Elliott (2005); Breed and Rossi (2006); Fitzgerald and Gowers (2007). For an extensive bibliography of research on Ennius in the twentieth century, see Suerbaum (2003).

¹³ Hinds (1998); cf. also Suerbaum (1968).

¹⁴ For reconsideration of the assumption of one-dimensional ‘annalistic’ composition as the epic’s basic mode of operation, reflected in some of the assumptions of Skutsch’s edition, see esp. Gildenhard (2003) and Elliott (2005). On the complex ‘voices’ of the *Annales* (arguing against Conte (1986), esp. 144), see Goldberg (1995) 10–11, 22; Leigh (2001), 12–13; Elliott (2007).

¹⁵ Esp. Rüpke (2000), (2001), (2006); Gildenhard (2003), (2007); Walter (2004); Goldberg (2005), (2006).

II. ENNIUS UND VERGILIUS

It is fundamentally the impact of the *Annales* on Virgil's *Aeneid*—the epic that became what T. S. Eliot dubbed 'the classic of all Europe'—that has inspired the long scholarly fascination with the poem.¹⁸ Ennius' epic has left countless intertextual traces in Virgil's—clearly more than we can now know.¹⁹ This conviction essentially lies behind the only monograph devoted to the *Annales* and the *Aeneid*, Eduard Norden's *Ennius und Vergilius. Kriegsbilder aus Roms großer Zeit*, published in Germany in 1915. Based on a deep knowledge of his material combined with a passion for recovery and reconstruction, Norden's book aimed to reconstruct the old text, in particular Book 7 of the *Annales*, from the traces it has left in the new. Though the methods Norden employs are problematic in their reconstructive zeal, *Ennius und Vergilius* has fed importantly into the scholarly tradition on the *Annales*.²⁰ Since Norden, Michael Wigodsky devoted a substantial chapter of his 1972 study of Virgil and early Latin poetry to Ennius.²¹ Published before Skutsch's edition, Wigodsky systematically goes through each parallel or possible parallel between the *Aeneid* and the fragments of Ennius, but, while the work continues to be useful, the chapter spends much of its time impugning or corroborating earlier suggestions of parallels (especially those posited by Norden); moreover, part of this involves analysis of the nature of a 'parallel', which, in the light of developments in understanding the nature of intertextuality, now seems heavily dated.²² In a new climate of interpreting poetic interactions and epic succession, significant articles by

¹⁶ For a similar approach to first-century BC sources, as 'themselves primary evidence for . . . first-century attitudes towards early Roman literature and its reception', cf. Goldberg (2005), 16–17.

¹⁷ Although we may do much more to interpret them, the techniques of listing parallels found in Macrobius 6.1, evidently based on a list of *furta Vergilii* (Skutsch, p. 31), are essentially basic to the methodology of modern commentators on the *Aeneid*, too: cf. A. Barchiesi (1984), 9, on Knauer (1964).

¹⁸ Eliot (1957), 70. Cf. Martindale (1997), 1–18.

¹⁹ Norden (1957), 365–7.

²⁰ As I discuss in Ch. 4, one important reconstruction of an episode in *Annales* 7 (the famous 'Discordia episode') is widely seen to hold much plausibility, and Norden's meticulous philology—though his reconstructive assumptions often stray too far into the realms of wishful thinking—is often invaluable.

²¹ Wigodsky (1972), 40–79.

Sergio Casali and Ingo Gildenhard appeared in 2007;²³ influential remarks on Ennius' role in literary history in relation to Virgil and others, too, have been made by Stephen Hinds,²⁴ while Herbert Prinzen in *Ennius im Urteil der Antike* has produced a compendious collection of ancient opinions of Ennius, including a section on Virgil's reception of his predecessor;²⁵ but there remains no monograph since Norden's devoted to the topic of the *Annales* and the *Aeneid*.

Almost one hundred years after the publication of Norden's formidable work, this book looks again from an interpretive perspective at the echoes between the two epics. A study like G. N. Knauer's *Die Aeneis und Homer*, which comprehensively maps out parallels between the *Aeneid* and the Homeric epics, or Damien Nelis's *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* would be desirable,²⁶ but the problem is that the narrative context of the fragments of Ennius' epic is almost exclusively based on scholarly conjecture, which means that the major strengths of Knauer's and Nelis's work—the large-scale analysis of structural parallels and 'repetition with a difference' on more than a verbal level—would be based on shifting sands. A comprehensive study like these, too, is not viable simply because, as Nelis puts it, 'particularly interesting' though such a study of Ennius and Naevius would be, '[t]he fragmentary remains of their works make it all but impossible to judge the true extent of their influence on Vergil'.²⁷ In line with both Knauer and Nelis, the Appendix listing extant parallels between the *Annales* and the *Aeneid* tabulates, as far as can be gauged from what survives, the available evidence for such a study. But rather than try to speculate comprehensively on what the 'true extent' of such echoes might originally have been, this book attempts something fundamentally different.

²² For Wigodsky, for example, if the 'main source' of a line or sequence of lines could be shown to be Greek, and particularly Homeric, intertextual connections with earlier Latin epic no longer play a functional role: 'because Homer or some other Greek poet was the source or main object of imitation—it would be futile to look for imitation in Virgil of a specific episode in Ennius' (Wigodsky (1972), 53).

²³ Casali (2007); Gildenhard (2007); see also Elliott (2008) and Nickbakht (2010).

²⁴ Hinds (1998), 52–63; on Ennius and Virgil, see also a number of remarks in Hardie (1986) and (1993), *passim*.

²⁵ Prinzen (1998), 213–44. Cf. also Krevans (1993).

²⁶ Knauer (1964); Nelis (2001).

III. SHAGGY CROWNS

Ennius was notoriously dismissed by some poets in the Augustan period as 'hairy': *Annales Ennii*, 'the *Annales* of Ennius', as Ovid put it, *nihil est hirsutius illis*, 'nothing is hairier than that' (*Tr.* 2.259). Famously, Propertius, perhaps playing on Ennius' own claim to have earned his poet's crown from the Muses, bid Ennius garland his poems with a 'shaggy crown': *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona* (4.1.61).²⁸ Yet 'shagginess' is a double-edged idea in Roman culture. Long, unkempt hair had strong associations in Rome with the native past: Rome was, after all, founded by 'hairy farmers' (*hirsuti . . . coloni* (*Ov. Am.* 3.10.7)) with shaggy hair (*Ov. Ars am.* 1.108), and its virtues are partly due to the rectitude of 'bristling . . . Sabine women' (*horribiles . . . Sabinae* (*Mart.* 11.15.2)). A rough crown made of grass, the *corona graminea*, was traditionally the highest award of its kind for military virtue (*Plin. HN* 22.6–8); and even the wearing of shaggy animal skin can be associated with Rome's ancient *patres*.²⁹

This double-edged attitude makes 'shagginess' a useful metaphor for the tension between the old and the new—reflecting the ambivalence about antiquity and novelty seen more broadly in Augustan Rome—in Virgil's relation to Ennius as an epic poet. Augustan Rome was characterized by what Tonio Hölscher calls 'a fundamentally retrospective habitus': from art and architecture to political life, the era that Ronald Syme famously labelled 'the Roman Revolution', though fundamentally novel, in fact involved the deep-rooted appropriation of the old.³⁰ Work on Roman literature in the past few

²⁷ Nelis (2001), 3.

²⁸ Scorn of old-fashioned Ennius by new generations of poets goes back at least to the modernist *cantores Euphorionis* of Cicero's day (*Tusc.* 3.45). For Ennius' crown of poetry, cf. *Lucr.* 1.118 and Miller (1983), 283–7. Seneca similarly positions Ennius as a writer *inter hircosos*, 'among the unwashed' (lit. 'smelling like he-goats' (*Sen. apud Gell.* 12.2.11) with Hinds (1998), 73 n. 39, on the link between *hirsutus* and *hircosus*).

²⁹ *pellitos . . . patres* (*Prop.* 4.1.12). Shaggy beards, too, were associated with ancient virtue: Cicero calls up the spirits of the men of old with the kind of long shaggy beards 'seen on ancient statues and busts' (as opposed to the degenerate *barbula* of the day) to help him argue his case in *Pro Caelio* 33. On the positive connotations of shagginess in the tonsorial sphere, cf. also *Hor. Carm.* 2.15.11 and 1.12.41 on 'unshaven Cato' (*Cato intonsus*); *Aen.* 6.809–10 on Numa's beard, and cf. further Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), on 1.12.41. On some of the ambiguities involved in roughness as a literary-critical term when applied specifically to Caesar's prose *commentarii* as a reflection of the old-style unadorned *mores* of the speaker, see Kraus (2005).

decades has often stressed the novelty of Augustan poets: their inheritance as 'New Poets', whose aim was to bring about a Hellenizing revolution in the poetics of Rome with a new literature that was Callimachean, learned, and characterized by polish and high finish. Stephen Hinds has influentially argued that Ennius and his predecessors fell victim to that revolution. In defining themselves as new, Augustan poets constructed Ennius, once a radical innovator himself, as the 'proverbial archaic poet'.³¹

But while it was concerned with Callimachean novelty, Roman literature of the period, and above all Virgil's epic, also displays the same sort of 'retrospective habitus' that can be seen across a range of cultural phenomena in the period. An epic for Augustan Rome could not simply dispense with the Roman past by constructing it as outmoded, and a poet writing epic in the second half of the first century BC could not easily consign Ennius 'to the dustbin or the archive room of literary history'.³² Virgil himself, primarily in the preface to the third *Georgic*, was partly responsible for the construction of Ennius as stylistically outmoded, making space for himself as a New Poet, but the issue is much more complex than that. While other poets writing in other genres might simply dismiss Ennius, in the *Aeneid*, Virgil meets Ennius on his own generic ground, where what is at stake is not just the title of 'Roman Homer' but, fundamentally, the claim to Roman antiquity and the memory of the Roman past. Ennius may not have been able to 'shake off the aroma of archaic Rome';³³ as I will argue in this book, however, it is precisely as a representative of the Roman past that the power of the *Annales* lay in Roman culture: it is for Ennius' 'shaggy crown'—his ability to speak of the Roman past—that Virgil competes.

³⁰ T. Hölscher (2006), 240, discussing the use of Greek art in Rome, but the statement applies even more pertinently to attitudes to the Roman past. As Habinek and Schiesaro (1997) show, Syme's 'Roman revolution' (Syme (1939)) extended to all areas of culture.

³¹ Hinds (1998), 66.

³² Hinds (1998), 55.

³³ Hinds (1998), 74.

IV. INTERTEXTUALITY AND CULTURAL MEMORY

This monograph, therefore, participates in what is often called the ‘memory boom’ that began in the 1970s across a broad range of disciplines and has since witnessed a more recent period of growth within the discipline of Classics.³⁴ Drawing on Maurice Halbwachs’s work on *mémoire collective*, Jan and Aleida Assmann’s notion of *kulturelles Gedächtnis*, and the development of these concepts by their successors, recent scholarship has brought about a new appreciation of Rome as a city of memory and Roman culture as a culture of commemoration.³⁵ Literature was clearly crucial to Roman *memoria*, and, arguably, epic played the starring role.³⁶ ‘Memory is the ground and goal’ of Roman epic not just because its narrative is a ‘gift from the daughters of Memory’, but because it functioned as a medium of memory in Roman society.³⁷ When Virgil came to write the *Aeneid*, Ennius’ epic had long performed this function. As Erll and Rigney put it, though, “remembering the past” is not just a matter of recollecting events and persons, but often also a matter of recollecting earlier texts and rewriting earlier stories’.³⁸ In the *Aeneid*’s dealings with the *Annales*, the manipulation of cultural memory—the ways in which readers are encouraged to remember (or forget) their collective past—and intertextuality—the ways in which readers are encouraged to remember (or forget) past texts—are fundamentally bound together. I argue here that the *Annales* played a key role in Roman cultural memory, and that, seeking to replace Ennius’ poem as the epic of Rome, in the *Aeneid*, the manipulation of literary tradition closely

³⁴ On the ‘memory boom’ in the twentieth century, see e.g. Winter (2006); Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy (2011), 3. For the history of memory studies, see e.g. Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy (2011), 3–39; Erll (2005); Olick and Robbins (1998).

³⁵ See esp. Edwards (1996); Citroni (2003); Walter (2004); Gowing (2005); Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp (2006); Rea (2007); Meban (2009); Gallia (2012); and cf. Flower (2006). Halbwachs (1925) is often held up as the ‘seminal’ text for collective memory, though the origins are more complex (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy (2011), 22–5); fundamental on the concept of cultural memory are J. Assmann (1988), (1992), (2011), and A. Assmann (1999). Pierre Nora’s work on *lieux de mémoire* has also been crucially influential (Nora (1984–92)).

³⁶ On literature and memory in Rome, see esp.: Edwards (1996); Citroni (2003); DeBrohun (2003), 89–90; Gowing (2005); Rea (2007); Meban (2009).

³⁷ Hardie (1990), 263, reviewing Henry (1989).

³⁸ Erll and Rigney (2006), 112.

intersects with the manipulation and appropriation of Rome's memories of its 'deep past'.³⁹

One of the central strategies by which the *Aeneid* achieves this can be explained partly by drawing on Harold Bloom's notion of 'anxiety of influence'. Bloom put his famous concept forward in a tetralogy of works which initially focused on post-Enlightenment poetry in English, but extended to encompass 'even Homer';⁴⁰ the idea of 'anxiety of influence' has since been picked up as 'something of a godsend' by a number of classicists to explain the dynamics of succession in Greek and Roman epic.⁴¹ Related to the strategies of coping with epigonal anxiety that Bloom identified, a key manoeuvre which Greek and Roman authors have sometimes been seen to employ in dealing with their sense of poetic belatedness is to 'pre-write' their most intimidating strong precursors. As Simon Goldhill argues in relation to Apollonius, in choosing the subject matter for the *Argonautica*, Apollonius 'pre-writes' Homer, going 'back to a time before Homer's to write—as it were to *rediscover*—the story already old for Homer'.⁴²

This is, in part, the technique Virgil adopts in dealing with the *Annales*, too. The narrative of the *Aeneid* precedes most of Ennius' poem chronologically, telling an extended story at a time set 'first' and thereby implicitly reversing literary chronology, creating the illusion in a Bloomian moment of dynamic 'misprision' that the *Aeneid* is

³⁹ Terminology is notoriously fluid in what is now often termed the discipline of 'memory studies' (Erl and Nünning (2008), 2). Generally speaking, I use 'cultural memory' and 'collective memory' interchangeably, employing the latter more loosely than Halbwachs and in a way that includes rather than differs from Assmann's 'cultural memory' to refer to societies' shared commemoration of the past in the broadest sense, including memories of the 'deep past' and modes of remembering that can encompass both literary and the non-literary forms of commemoration such as rituals and monuments. On the connections between intertextuality and cultural memory in literate societies, where '[i]ntertextuality demonstrates the process by which a culture, where "culture" is a book culture, continually rewrites and retranscribes itself', cf. Lachmann (2008), 6.

⁴⁰ Bloom (1976), 4. Key works are Bloom (1973), (1975a), (1975b), (1976). Cf. also the important earlier work of Walter Jackson Bate (Bate (1971)).

⁴¹ Hardie (1993), 116. Cf. e.g. also Hinds (1998) s.v. 'influence, anxiety of'. Like most critics who use Bloom's concepts, I draw fairly broadly on his insights on the anxieties of poetic belatedness and some of his familiar terms which have proved enduringly useful to criticism, rather than employing specifically his 'six revisionary ratios', drawn from a wide range of esoteric sources including Gnosticism, Kabbalah, and Lurianic interpretations. For a particularly strongly-stated description of Bloom's specific method as 'solipsistic charlatantry of the highest order', see Fite (1985), 5.

⁴² Goldhill (1991), 284–5.

'first' and the *Annales* in fact 'belated'. But this is not just an issue about poetic succession, as it might be in the case of Apollonius and Homer, but of the appropriation of Roman memory. As I argue in the book, we can see the *Aeneid* obliterating Ennius from the landscape of Rome, performing a shadow war in the landscapes of Sicily and Italy that prefigures the Punic Wars, and writing Roman *exempla* 'before' the *Annales*. It is this—the appropriation of Ennius' role in Roman cultural memory, his 'shaggy crown' of the Roman past—much more than any Hellenizing innovations, that allowed Virgil's poem to effect one of the most successful instances of poetic self-positioning in literary history. Ingo Gildenhard remarks that in the *Aeneid* Virgil executed a consummate Bloomian move of father-killing, 'the perfect parricide, where the corpse is not just buried in a literary underworld, but disappears, and the son lives on, at the centre of a culture'.⁴³ Whether or not Bloom is entirely right that 'the great masterpieces of anterior art must be destroyed, if any great works are still to be performed',⁴⁴ and whether or not we should see Virgil as responsible for obliterating his poetic father by means of quite such a Freudian parricide, is an open question. But the fact remains that the *Aeneid*'s success was substantially responsible for Ennius' loss. As will become clear in the course of this study, one of the main reasons for that success was a competition that took the form of a deep and far-reaching appropriation of Ennius' role in Roman cultural memory; it is this that enabled the new poem to place its own narrative of the Roman past 'first' in the collective consciousness of Rome, and largely thereby dislodge the *Annales* from its canonical position.

The chapters take the following shape. Chapter 1, 'Reading Ennius in the First Century BC', lays the foundation for subsequent discussion by analysing the evidence for the reading of the *Annales* before and shortly after the *Aeneid* appeared. The ways in which the poem was read and quoted show that it became canonical and that Ennius still held an authoritative position as the *pater* of Roman poetry (though not without detractors) when the *Aeneid* was written. More than that, however, the ways in which the epic was read also show that the *Annales* functioned for a long time as one of the key transmitters of historical memory in Roman culture. That reception—as canonical epic and as transmitter of Roman memory—is vitally

⁴³ Gildenhard (2007), 74.

⁴⁴ Bloom (1976), 4.

important to how the *Aeneid* deals with its epic predecessor. Chapter 2, “‘Archaic’ Poets”, deals with issues of antiquity and modernity. Stephen Hinds influentially argued that Roman epic, above all in the hands of Virgil and Ennius, engages in a series of ‘Hellenizing revolutions’, each of which wipes out the achievements of previous epic by declaring the new poem’s fundamental modernity.⁴⁵ Looking in more detail at the two poets’ self-fashioning and re-examining their use of archaism, I argue that, alongside a dynamic of competition based on claims to modernity and Greekness, the *Annales* and the *Aeneid* are fundamentally involved in a competition for the claim to Roman antiquity.

Subsequent chapters each look at different aspects of cultural memory in the *Aeneid*’s engagement with the *Annales*. Drawing on Pierre Nora’s ideas of *lieux de mémoire*, Chapter 3, ‘Sites of Rome’, investigates the representation of landscape, and in particular the landscape of and near the site of Rome, as a key location of contested ‘sites of memory’. These places are centrally associated with the foundation myths of Rome, stories which, in the minds of an Ennian-educated audience, were crucially intertwined with the *Annales*. I argue that by bringing its hero in primeval time to this evocative landscape, the *Aeneid* plants itself on Roman soil as the ‘first’ epic of Rome’s foundation. The notion of ‘pre-writing’ the *Annales* continues in Chapter 4, “‘Punica’”. The Punic Wars were the defining martial subject matter of Rome’s two major canonical historical epics, Ennius’ *Annales* and its predecessor, Naevius’ *Bellum Punicum*. By playing out war games in the north-west corner of Sicily, the main theatre of the First Punic War, and staging a war in Italy long before that other war in Italy, the invasion of Hannibal in 218 BC, the *Aeneid*, ‘last’ chronologically, pre-enacts some of the most significant subject matter associated with its early Republican predecessors. The final chapter, Chapter 5, ‘Epic Examples’, focuses on a key way of remembering the past in Roman culture, the historical *exemplum*. I argue that the *Annales* became crucial to the tradition of *exempla*-writing in Roman literature, and in particular to the *Aeneid*, where the appropriation and perversion of Ennian examples helps to carve out a space for Virgil’s epic as the new repository of Roman memory.

⁴⁵ Hinds (1998), 52–83.

There are other ‘Ennius’ with which Virgil engages, and a number of aspects of the two poets’ relationship that this book does not fully cover. Following Norden’s lead in *Ennius und Vergilius*, I have chosen to limit the investigation primarily to Ennius’ epic, including, where relevant, Livius Andronicus’ *Odussia*, Naevius’ *Bellum Punicum*, and certain *fabulae praetextae* from the early Roman canon, rather than extend the focus to tragedy. Ennius as a tragic poet, often closely adapting Greek works, largely operates in different ways within Virgil’s epic. The two spheres, tragic and epic, sometimes clash or intersect (notably at *Aen.* 2.274–97, where the opening of the *Annales* and the Trojan material from the *Alexander* are brought together in the allusive background of Aeneas’ dream of Hector⁴⁶), but tragedy and epic tend broadly to operate in different ways in the dynamics of the *Aeneid* and in ways that situate Ennius as a tragic poet in conjunction and interaction with other Roman dramatic poets. A new book on Roman drama in Virgil needs to be written, and I hope that this study will lay some important ground for future work.⁴⁷

Because of the book’s concern with the Roman past, I have also given less attention to the competition for the title of ‘Roman Homer’, and less to the ‘Hellenistic’ features which some have found in the *Annales*. Arguably, though, both have traditionally been overstated. Ennius in his own time powerfully claimed to be Homer reincarnate in the proem to *Annales* 1, a claim which, along with the Greek metre and overall ‘feel’ of the poem’s similes, divine machinery, and formulaic style, was deliberately fashioned to set up the *Annales* as the Roman equivalent to Homeric epic, dislodging any claim Livius or Naevius could make in the process.⁴⁸ In part, Virgil takes on Ennius’ implicit challenge, setting up the *Aeneid* as a newer, more Homeric Roman epic to replace that of his predecessor. Both Aeneas’ dream of Hector and his meeting with Anchises in the underworld famously

⁴⁶ On this passage and others where Virgil uses Ennian epic next to Ennian tragedy to create an ‘intertwining of various moods and voices’, see Elliott (2008), 249–69, quotation at 264.

⁴⁷ Stabryła (1970) and parts of Wigodsky (1972) on tragedy (esp. 80–97), though they include some valuable work, need to be updated, particularly in light of subsequent research on Virgil and Greek tragedy (esp. Mac Góráin (2009), (2013); Panoussi (2009)), and on Roman tragedy (e.g. Erasmo (2004)), as well as the role of drama in Roman culture (Wiseman (1998), (2008)). Cf. Scafoglio (2007) with brief remarks by Zorzetti (1990) and Galinsky (2003), 290–3.

engage with Ennius' dream of Homer in the opening of the *Annales*;⁴⁹ there are also a number of other passages in the *Aeneid* displaying intertextual links with both the *Annales* and the *Iliad* (largely quoted by Macrobius for precisely that reason) which can be read on a metaliterary level as poetic competition for the title of *Homerus alter*.⁵⁰ But as G. N. Knauer has decisively shown, the *Aeneid*—written over a century-and-a-half later for an audience thoroughly schooled in Homer—is breathtakingly 'totalizing' in its engagement with Homeric epic, including within its intertextual reach almost every aspect of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, from narrative patterns to individual lexical items.⁵¹ Whatever we might be missing in terms of lost narrative parallels with Homer in the *Annales*, Ennius does not come close to this. In Bloom's terms, there is no great *agon*.

Similarly, Ennius was a 'Hellenistic' poet in that he used writers like Sotades and Euhemerus, or, if Konrat Ziegler was right, in that he might have been writing in a long lost tradition of Hellenistic historical epic;⁵² but that does not mean that his poetry necessarily or consistently conforms to what Virgil would have thought of as Hellenistic poetics, or specifically Callimachean poetics.⁵³ As Alan Cameron deftly argued, what we call 'Callimachean poetics' may, in many ways, have been a construction of Roman poets of the first century BC.⁵⁴ The *Aeneid*, moreover, operates within a literary and reading culture that had developed over a century and a half, and a readership aware of an

⁴⁸ On Ennius and Homer, see esp. von Kameke (1926); Aicher (1986); Elliott (2005), ch. 2.

⁴⁹ See esp. Hardie (1993), 101–5; Kofler (2003), 76–88.

⁵⁰ Most famously *Ann.* 175–9 (tree-felling) with *Il.* 23.114–20 and *Aen.* 6.179–82: cf. esp. Hinds (1998), 10–14.

⁵¹ Knauer (1964). For the *Aeneid* as a 'totalizing epic that sums up and contains ... previous Greco-Roman literary tradition as a whole', see Hardie and Moore (2010), 59–60.

⁵² Ziegler (1966). The question remains only a possibility: Ziegler was working from the scantiest of evidence, primarily 'backwards' from Ennius' *Annales*. Cameron (1995), also surveying more recent papyrological evidence, argues stringently against the existence of the genre of historical epic which Ziegler 'thought he had discovered' (263–302, quotation at 266). Cf., however, objections raised by Harder (2002), 603–4, and Kerkhecker (2001), esp. 50–63. For speculation about the influence of the genre on Ennius, see Wülfing von Martitz (1972) and cf. Kerkhecker (2001) on Hellenistic 'Regionalepik'.

⁵³ So Goldberg (1995), 91: '[s]igns of Alexandrian influence have in fact proven very difficult to find in the fragments', and Elliott (2005), 166: '[p]ositing an expressly Callimachean program, in the sense in which that it is best known today ... is clearly

increasing number of texts (including greater familiarity with Callimachus) and thus better able to engage with 'Callimachean' strategies of engagement. There is no doubt that Virgil was a Hellenistic poet, just as he was a thoroughly Homerizing one. In attempting to replace Ennius, too, some of the strategies Virgil uses are themselves partly Hellenistic in origin and inspiration.⁵⁵ But in practice there is, again, no substantial area of contest. This is not to say that the *Annales* were primitive, just that they were not necessarily all that 'Hellenistic', or at least not consistently Hellenistic in the same way, nor did they have such a 'totalizing' reach in their use of Homer. While I touch on both Homeric and Hellenistic ground, therefore, particularly when that coexists with the Roman elements with which the study is centrally concerned, I do not see these features as the main area of competition between the two epics. It is true, as Stephen Hinds argues, that Augustan writers were partly responsible for constructing Ennius as an outdated and primitive poet, neither a revolutionary poet as might once have been claimed, nor the true Homer for contemporary Rome, and that Virgil himself participated in that construction.⁵⁶ Yet, as I aim to show in the book, what fundamentally could *not* be altered merely by shifting the literary-historical discourse about Ennius, however much poets like Ovid tried to link antiquity with the *gauche*, is the position of his epic in Roman cultural memory. By the time Virgil began work on the *Aeneid*, the epic's role in how Rome remembered its past was deep and wide reaching; it could not be constructed away, but would need to be—almost literally—uprooted from the soil and memory of Rome. In other words, Ennius, in Bloom's terms, was Virgil's 'strong precursor' essentially in his Roman guise, wearing his shaggy crown. To borrow one of

anachronistic'. Ennius probably knew Callimachus, and potential Callimachean influence has been detected in Ennius' proemial statements by Skutsch and others, but specific intertexts can not be pinned down ('[t]here is no obvious imitation' (Skutsch (1968), 8)). Even Hutchinson (1988), 278–9, who pushes Callimachean influence, does so as part of an assertion that poets could use aspects of Callimachus' *Aetia* prologue 'without thereby professing allegiance to his supposed theories'.

⁵⁴ Cameron (1995). Harder (2002), 606, raises objections to Cameron, but, again, the evidence is ultimately inconclusive. Despite fundamental differences with Cameron, the idea that 'Callimacheanism' was by no means the dominant aesthetics in the period is in fact also shared by Ziegler (1966).

⁵⁵ On belatedness as a primary concern of Hellenistic poetry, see esp. Bing (1988); Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004); and cf. Hunter (2008), substantially concerned with 'On Coming After'.

⁵⁶ Hinds (1998), 63–74.

Ennius' most enduringly famous lines, the contest is fundamentally centred on *moribus antiquis*.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Ann.* 156 = *Cic. Rep.* 5.1, *moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque* ('It is on ancient customs that the Roman state depends and on her men').

Reading Ennius in the First Century BC

I. INTRODUCTION

Roughly 150 years of reception intervene between the composition of the *Annales* around the 180s and c.29 BC, when Virgil began work on the *Aeneid*.¹ In that time, the *Annales* had become a national epic, studied by grammarians, read in schools, and championed or scorned by some of Rome's most influential writers. This chapter examines the reception of the *Annales* between the poem's first appearance and the end of the Augustan period. In particular, it looks at the evidence for the place of Ennius' epic in Roman culture, focusing above all on its role as a school text and the ways in which, as such, the *Annales* would have been read, remembered, and used. Bringing to bear research on ancient education on the ways in which a number of the fragments are quoted and alluded to, I hope to bring out some of the ways in which Ennius' epic, originally written by a 'half-Greek' (*semigraecus*) from Messapia who claimed that he had three hearts (*tria corda*) because he spoke three different languages, would have been read increasingly as both national and traditional.² One of the main things I emphasize in this chapter is that, for readers in the first century BC, primarily as a consequence of its use in education, Ennius' epic had become both the canonical epic of Rome and a powerful and familiar carrier of Roman memory. This reception is crucial in considering the response of the *Aeneid* to Ennius' epic. Virgil's poem appropriates the position of the *Annales* in the Roman literary canon as the epic of Rome, but the dynamics of that

¹ Skutsch estimates that Ennius' started work on the *Annales* around 184 BC, though he may conceivably have begun the project later: Zetzel (2007), 13–14.

² *semigraecus*: Suet. *Gram.* 1.2; *tria corda*: Gell. 17.17.1.

interaction are fundamentally conditioned by the *Annales'* long-standing place in Roman culture.

II. READING ENNIUS (I): THE REPUBLIC

How the *Annales* were first read is not well attested. Early readings of the poem are often thought to have taken place in private contexts within the elite households with which the poet was associated, perhaps specifically at banquets, but the evidence for this is not strong.³ After Ennius died in 169 BC, the epic's circulation was apparently not widespread, since Q. Vargunteius, according to Suetonius, discovered it, like Naevius' epic, 'not widely circulated'.⁴ Even as the poem's importance seems to have grown, Saturnians could still be employed as a heroic metre of commemoration in public inscriptions, and the striking flavour of revolutionary Hellenism which the *Annales* flagged up seems to have prompted in some a reactive return to the forms of the poem's predecessors.⁵

By the first century, though, the epic was becoming decisively implicated in the growing scholarly culture which sought material in Latin as its object in emulation of scholarship and education in the Greek world, dated by Suetonius to the extended stay in Rome from Pergamum of the famous scholar Crates of Mallos around 167 BC (just after Ennius' death), who opportunely broke his leg in a sewer-hole and spent his convalescence giving lectures and classes on literary exegesis, thereby sparking a similar pursuit in Rome: *nostris exemplo fuit ad imitandum*.⁶ As the Greeks had Homer for comment and interpretation so, too, the Romans required a 'foundation text',

³ Leigh (2001), 10, suggests 'a first audience in recitations in the household of the patron'; for banquets, see esp. Rüpke (2000), 44–6. On the problems involved in gauging the poem's earliest reception (aristocratic banquet songs were likely to have been a distant memory when epic came on the scene), as well as the poet's precise connection with elite political figures ('patron' is anachronistic in this context), see Goldberg (1995), 114–15; (2006).

⁴ *carmina . . . parum divulgata* (Suet. *Gram.* 2.2). See also Goldberg (2005), 25–7.

⁵ On the persistence of Saturnians after Ennius' death, see Jocelyn (1972), 989, and more thoroughly Goldberg (2005), 25–7, and Ll. Morgan (2010), 286–300.

⁶ 'He served as an example for our countrymen to imitate' (Suet. *Gram.* 2.1). Crates' lectures were likely to have centred on Homeric epic: Goldberg (2005), 27.

and Ennius' epic increasingly fulfilled this role.⁷ Commentaries began to appear from the beginning of the century, and the poem evoked the interest of figures like Antonius Gniphio, who wrote a commentary on the *Annales*,⁸ and Aelius Stilo.⁹ In effect, these scholars established a Roman 'canon' with Ennius as an equivalent to Homer at the heart of a body of national literature.¹⁰ An important consequence of this is that the epics of Naevius and Livius, though still read and valued, were relegated to subordinate positions, with Ennius' epic set up as the counterpart in status to Homer's *Iliad*.¹¹

Crucially, many of the scholars who dealt with Ennius were also active as teachers. According to Suetonius, Ennius and Livius had themselves been teachers of Latin and Greek and gave exemplary readings from their own Latin compositions (*si quid ipsi Latine composuissent praelegebant* (Gram. 1.2)). By the early first century, at any rate, the need for Latin literature in the classroom meant that Ennius' epic would have been adopted as a teaching tool by others, not least some of the grammarians who also exercised their scholarship on Ennius. Aelius Stilo had been a teacher of Cicero and Varro;¹² Antonius Gniphio taught Julius Caesar as a boy;¹³ Orbilius, who published a work on the *Annales*, taught the literature of the early Republic to

⁷ Cf. Citroni (2006), 213–14, on the *Annales* as a 'fundamental text'.

⁸ Skutsch, p. 9: *Schol. Bern.* on G. 2.119. Possible dates for Gniphio are 114–64 (Kaster (1995), 116).

⁹ For Aelius Stilo's interest in Ennius, see Gell. 12.4. Kaster (1995), 69, sets Aelius' *floruit* c.110?–85?. On Stilo, see also Suerbaum (2002), 552–7. On early commentaries on the *Annales*, see Skutsch, pp. 8–9; Suerbaum (2002), 140.

¹⁰ For the idea of a 'canon' of Roman authors (though the term is anachronistic), the contents of which could vary but nevertheless included key recurring works, see esp. Citroni (2006).

¹¹ For the general status of Naevius in second position to Ennius, see M. Barchiesi (1962), 12–70; see also Citroni (2006) on an epic canon of 'threes', well established by Cicero's day, that placed Ennius in the top position. Jerome noted in his commentary on Micah (2.7) that Lucilius considered Ennius to be *Homerus alter* (Skutsch, p. 11); while both Lucilius and Varro adduce the *Iliad* and the *Annales* as examples of *poesis* (376–85 Krenkel (= 338–47 Marx); Varro *Sat. Men.* 398. See Marx on Lucil. 338–47 and Prinzen (1998), 115–16, 152–5, with further references.

¹² Cic. *Brut.* 207 (*cum essem apud Aelium adulescens eumque audire perstudiose solerem*); Gell. 16.8.2 (*magister Varronis fuit*). Kaster (1995), 69, suggests that Stilo was probably their 'teacher' at a later stage: more in the sense of 'a noted man of letters at whose feet young *studiosi* sat'.

¹³ Suet. *Gram.* 7.2: sometime in the period 95–85 (Kaster (1995), 116; Bonner (1977), 26). For Caesar's use of Ennius in his *commentarii*, see Pascucci (1957). Cicero also attended Gniphio's rhetoric school when he was praetor in 66 (Suet. *Gram.* 7.2; Macrob. 3.12.6).

future poets of the first century, probably well into his old age, among them Horace and the epic poets Domitius Marsus and Furius Bibaculus, who composed '*Annales*' of his own.¹⁴ A consequence of the adoption of the *Annales* as a school text by grammarians and teachers, anonymous as well as known, was an increasingly widespread familiarity with the poem. Evidence of this can be seen as early as Lucilius, who claimed, at least, that he would find readers as far afield as Bruttium, Tarentum, and Sicily,¹⁵ and was able to take the *Annales* for granted as the familiar canonical epic to parody in his satires.¹⁶ By the middle of the first century at least, there is clear evidence that the epic was easily familiar to a wide public. The poem is quoted, referred to, or parodied by almost every 'major' author we have, including Varro, Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius, and Catullus.¹⁷ Quotations show not just the quoting author's tendentious reading preferences, but the knowledge he could expect among his audience. In Cicero's *Pro Murena* (63 BC), for example, the orator quotes a long passage from the *Annales*, introducing the quotation without naming Ennius, as if evoking shared knowledge, with the phrase *ut ait ingeniosus poeta et auctor ualde bonus* ('as a talented poet and excellent authority puts it'), and interweaving a long passage of Ennius' words with his own, which is particularly significant because Cicero deliberately had in mind not just the jury but the *corona* of less well-educated bystanders.¹⁸

¹⁴ For Orbilius *plagosus* ('ready with blows'), and for his teaching of poetry as early as Livius Andronicus to schoolboys, see Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.69–71. Orbilius was born in 112/13 BC and lived almost to his 100th year, becoming distinguished enough for his statue to be erected at Beneventum (Suet. *Gram.* 9.6). He published the *elenchi Annalium* of M. Pomponius Andronicus (Suet. *Gram.* 8.1; the nature of the work is debated, though it was obviously a critical work of some sort: Kaster (1995), 124. For his relation to the poets Furius Bibaculus and Domitius Marsus (apparently inspiring similar hostility), see Hollis (2007), 136–7, 310. For Ennian influence on Bibaculus' *Annales*, see e.g. fr. 75 Hollis with *Ann.* 584.

¹⁵ Cic. *Fin.* 1.7; Rawson (1985), 35.

¹⁶ Cf. Prinzen (1998), 103, on Lucilius' relationship to the *Annales* as a poem 'in der Schule das Dichtungswerk überhaupt'.

¹⁷ On these writers, see Vahlen², pp. xxix–lvi; Skutsch, pp. 12, 26–9, 34–5; Prinzen (1998), 132–203; D'Anna (1983a).

¹⁸ *Mur.* 30 quoting from *Ann.* 247–53. For the audience, see Rawson (1985), 52–3, citing *Fin.* 4.74 on this speech. (Cicero says he deliberately included a very simplified account of Stoicism that would be comprehensible to them.) Skutsch, remarking generally on the *Annales* in Cicero's works, points out that almost a third of the quotations from the poem are left unidentified 'knowing that his readers would not need to be told' (Skutsch, p. 27). In education, the 'core' texts most familiar to an elite audience and those familiar to others seem to have been by and

Likewise, in Varro's *De lingua latina*, evidently intended for circulation, Ennius is the only hexameter poet quoted without the name of the author or work, pointing to an audience that would be able readily to recognize the *Annales*.¹⁹ Knowledge of the *Annales* among those with less education seems to have found its way into inscriptions, too. What is probably a school-learned memory of *Ann.* 156, *moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque* ('It is on ancient customs that the Roman state depends and on her men'), left its mark unconsciously in a hexameter verse composition by a banker, 'L. Munius', written around the first half of the first century BC, in an inscription accompanying a dedication made *moribus antiquis* (the first half of Ennius' hexameter), at the Temple of Hercules Victor at Reate.²⁰

large the same: T. Morgan (1998), 78. On different kinds of readers, cf. Rawson (1985), 45–51; Cavallo (1999), 67. Quotations from the *Annales* in Cicero's letters to Atticus in particular (2.19.2 = *Ann.* 363; 6.2.8 = *Ann.* 589; 12.5.1 = *Ann.* 290; 15.7 = *Ann.* 252, the last two from the same passage of the poem) suggest texts familiar from his own education, probably substantially shared with his addressee: Clarke (1968), 19. For wide knowledge of the tragedies, which Cicero also assumes, see Jocelyn (1967), 52–3.

¹⁹ Varro quotes the *Annales* more than thirty times in the work, and though he generally does name Ennius, sometimes more than once in succession, the few exceptions are significant, since no other dactylic poet is quoted without attribution (Skutsch, p. 34 on the opening quotation of Book 7 (*incipiam hinc* (*Ling.* 7.6)) and probably also 7.26). As Skutsch points out, other quotations could be deduced from the previous lemma (p. 34), but it is notable that Varro's general practice is to mention the author or work again (or substitute *idem* or *ibidem*), and it is unlikely, for instance, that he felt he had to identify what was probably the opening line of the *Annales* at *Ling.* 7.20. Varro also quotes Ennius at 'significant points' in the *Res rusticae* (Skutsch, p. 34); and the *Annales* likewise make an appearance alongside the *Iliad* in the surviving *Menippea* (*Sat. Men.* 398; Prinzen (1998), 150). On the circulation of *De lingua latina* (Varro breaks off a particularly technical discussion because he feared the scribes would not copy it properly (8.51), implying that he intended the work for circulation): cf. Rawson (1985), 43.

²⁰ *CLE* 248 = *CIL* 1.632 = Courtney (1995), 7. The same line is quoted as the epigraph to *Cic. Rep.* 5. Skutsch on *Ann.* 156 refers the inscription to Mummus (not Munius), now shown to be incorrect (Courtney (1995), 212–13, with bibliography):

sancte
de] decuma, Victor, tibi Lucius Munius donum
mor]ibus antiquis pro usu[r]a hoc dare sese
uis]um animo suo perfecit, tua pace rogans te
co]gendei dissoluendi tu ut facilia faxeis.
per]ficias decumam ut faciat uerae ration[is
pro]que hoc atque alieis don[is] des digna mere[nti]

(Holy One! Lucius Munius has achieved what he had decided in his mind, that he should give this gift to you, Conqueror, according to ancient custom, as interest from a tithe, asking you of your indulgence to make easy work of

The way in which the *Annales* were read, taught, and remembered in educational contexts would have played a decisive role in emphasizing Ennius' 'Roman heart'. Roman education eludes definitions, partly because it was neither institutionalized in the modern sense nor even by the middle of the first century intentionally consistent.²¹ In the broadest terms, however, the establishment of *paideia* in Rome, in which Ennius' epic played a role as a Latin text, was in many ways a case of 'naturalization', assimilating the model imported from Greece to already existing traditions and priorities: '[t]he Romans of the Republic did not so much adopt the Hellenistic model of education as naturalize it . . . selectively fashion[ing] . . . Greek educational principles'.²² Perhaps the most important of these traditions was the transmission of knowledge and traditions about the Roman past. As Uwe Walter has emphasized, Republican Rome was fundamentally a culture of *memoria*, and education played a key role in the ways in which the past was transmitted and imagined.²³ Ennius' epic could perform a central function within this context because it could provide a means of imparting 'national' history.²⁴ History never

collecting money and paying it out. See to it that he totals up a tithe of true reckoning, and in return for this and other gifts give worthy return to him, as he deserves.)

Text and translation from Courtney (1995), 38; on the tall 'I' in *donis* and the approximate date of the inscription, see Courtney (1995), 213. Though, as Courtney points out, 'probably not a deliberate allusion' (213), the influence is in composition rather than meaning. For Ennius in inscriptions, cf. Cugusi (1982), 73; (1985), 166–70. For Virgil's influence as a canonical poem on inscriptions (better attested), see Horsfall (1995), 253, with references.

²¹ T. Morgan (1998), 25–33; Corbeill (2001), 201 n. 1, with Cic. *Rep.* 4.3. Further problems exist in that evidence is scattered in time and place, and is often retrospective for this period (cf. T. Morgan (1998), 31).

²² Corbeill (2001), 201.

²³ Walter (2004), esp. 42–51.

²⁴ On Ennius as a source of historical knowledge in the classroom, cf. Walter (2004), 49, 277, and Cornell's remark ((1986), 244): 'What would Romans of Cicero's day have known about their own history? Those who had any sort of education probably obtained their first impressions from Ennius' *Annales*.' See also Prinzen (1998), 166–7. The need for this was present in the early years after the poem appeared: according to Plutarch, Cato was educating his son around the time the *Annales* were being composed by writing out in large letters stories from his own history of Rome in Latin in order to make him familiar with Rome's ancient traditions (*Cat. Mai.* 20.7; not the *Origines*); Aemilius Paullus, otherwise famously Hellenistic in his educational project, was also seeking to train his sons (born c.186 and c.185) in 'the native, ancestral discipline in which he himself had been trained' (τοὺς παῖδας ἀσκῶν τὴν . . . ἐπιχρίον παιδείαν καὶ πάτριον ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἥσκητο (Plut. *Aem.* 6.4)); Bonner

became a subject in its own right in Roman schools, whereas poetry was central in the early years of education, which would make the epic's narrative content particularly valuable.²⁵ Its narrative began with the foundation myth of Rome, recounting Aeneas' departure from Troy and arrival in Latium (*Ann.* 14–32). The main part of Book 1 seems to have focused on the myth of Romulus (Aeneas' grandson in Ennius' version²⁶), with detailed accounts of Ilia and her dream-rape by Mars (*Ann.* 34–50)²⁷ and subsequent death (57–61; I.xxxix = Porphyry on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.18); the mythical childhood of Romulus and Remus (*Ann.* 63–70); the augury contest for the foundation and naming of Rome (*Ann.* 72–91); Romulus' wall (*Ann.* 92); the Sabines and Titus Tatius (*Ann.* 98–104); and division of the *ager Romanus* and its tribes (*Ann.* I.lix = Varro *Ling.* 5.55). As part of the episode, Ennius told of the deification of Romulus, including its debate and prophecy in a council of the gods (*Ann.* 51–6), and realization as the people lament Romulus' death and his deification is announced (*Ann.* 105–9, 110–11). It is possible that Ennius was responsible for inventing the legend of Romulus' apotheosis, and knowledge of his account of it in the *Annales* seems particularly to have left traces in the poem's reception.²⁸ An extended parody of the council of the gods appeared in Lucilius' first book of *Satires* (c.125 BC), substituting Lupus for Romulus in token of contemporary decline, and verbal echoes of the episode continue to appear in later writing, from Augustan poetry to graffiti at Pompeii.²⁹ Books 2–6 of the *Annales*, too, which dealt with

(1977), 23, interprets this as 'their own national history, statecraft, and law'. Cicero famously remarked that not to know your history is 'to remain a child forever' (*semper esse puerum* (*Orat.* 120)).

²⁵ For the absence of history *per se* in Roman curricula, see Bonner (1977), 218–19; cf. Ferrill (1978). With the *grammaticus*, at least, poetry was the central object of study: Cicero noted that Romans read (and learn by heart) poetry *a pueritia* (*Tusc.* 2.27), and Quintilian later stated famously that the central purpose of education was 'the study of correct speech and the interpretation of the poets' (*recte loquendi scientia et poetarum enarratio* (1.4.2)).

²⁶ *Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 1.273.

²⁷ Ovid's imagined reading for a Roman matron (*Tr.* 2.259–60).

²⁸ For the evidence that the deification was original to Ennius, see Prinzen (1998), 104 n. 20, with bibliography.

²⁹ *Ann.* 110, *Romulus in caelo*, appears on Pompeian graffiti (*CIL* 4.3135, 7353, 8568, 8995). The sources may have been influenced by a Lucilian parody (Skutsch, p. 261 suggests a 'contemporary skit' since Lucilius is not quoted elsewhere in Pompeian graffiti), but cf. Cugusi (1985), 169, an argument strengthened by the fact that the *Annales* were known, at least, in nearby Herculaneum (*PHerc.* 21). For the

the early kings of Rome, the conquest of Italy, and the Pyrrhic War, were similarly familiar to later readers.³⁰

The remaining portion of the poem, Books 7–18, told of events which were mostly still within living memory at the time Ennius was writing, a period roughly spanning 218 BC (the beginning of the Second Punic War, probably preceded by a partial account of the First), to the years before Ennius died. It has become standard to suggest that this narrative became ‘old news’ after Roman expansion following the defeat of Perseus at the battle of Pydna in 168 BC (one year after Ennius’ death), and that the poem lost its appeal as a consequence.³¹ But the events Ennius narrated, and the way in which he narrated them, in particular the Hannibalic War treated in Books 7–9, set off by a major second proem in Book 7, persistently haunted the Roman imagination.³² Hannibal became a proverbial ‘bogeyman’ (Juvenal, for example, would still see him as a subject to entertain schoolboys and exercise orators (10.167)), and the period became increasingly embedded in Rome’s cultural memory.³³ In an educational context, moreover, selected books or episodes of a poem were studied and memorized, which meant that the most meaningful

council, see Lucil. 6ff. Krenkel = 4ff. Marx; Hor. *Carm.* 3.3; Ov. *Met.* 14.806–15; *Fast.* 2.485–8.

³⁰ For the regal period, cf. esp. Lucr. 3.1025 with Kenney (1984) ad loc. More generally on the impact of the regal period in the Roman imagination, see e.g. Bücher (2006), 174–7, and Fox (1996). Silius would present Ennius as a poet who ‘will be the first to sing the wars of Italy in distinguished verse and exalt the commanders to the sky’ (*hic canet illustri primus bella Italia uersu | attolletque duces caelo* (*Pun.* 12.410–1)). For the reception of the Pyrrhic War, the subject of Book 6, cf. Fantham (2006). The *Herculaneum* papyrus pieces, *PHerc.* 21, come from this book.

³¹ Goldberg (2005), 26–7, on the 170s. Conte (1994), 83. The full scope of the poem is not known. D’Anna (1973), revised as (1979), argues that the received date of Ennius’ death (in 169 BC; Cic. *Brut.* 78; *Sen.* 14), is incorrect, and the poem did, in fact, narrate the battle of Pydna and Aemilius Paullus’ triumph in 167 BC. Cf. Walter (2004), 269, for the ways in which Ennius’ poem, whatever the scope of its narrative may have been, highlights ‘die Ressourcen, denen Rom seine expansive Dynamik verdankte’ (269; cf. also 273).

³² Though individual books of the *Annales* may have circulated separately, Ennius seems to have divided his own poem firmly into books (Jocelyn (1972), 1010; Hutchinson (2008), 26; contrast Suet. *Gram.* 2.2 on the later scholarly division of Naevius’ epic, discovered *uno uolumine*); he also clearly took thought for its overall structure, with Book 7 opening a new phase with a second major proem introducing a triad of books on the Punic Wars, and a further new beginning in Book 16, with apparently lighter pauses in Books 6 and 10: cf. Goldberg (2006), 437.

³³ E.g. Beck (2006); Brizzi (2011).

could be emphasized.³⁴ The persistence of familiarity, likely to be school-derived, with Ennian narratives in these books, and with the Hannibalic War in particular, is borne out in the ways in which the poem appears in later contexts. The list of Propertius 3.3, inaccurate though it may be as a representation of the original, suggests ways in which the poem could still be thought of in Augustan Rome as a repository of stories of early Rome, wars against the Greeks, and the Hannibalic War:³⁵

pater . . . Ennius . . .
 . . . cecinit Curios fratres et Horatia pila,
 regiaeque Aemilia uecta tropaea rate,
 uitricisque moras Fabii pugnamque sinistram
 Cannensem et uersos ad pia uota deos,
 Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantes,
 anseris et tutum uoce fuisse Iouem.

Prop. 3.3.6–12

(Father . . . Ennius . . . sang of the Curian brothers and the spears of the Horatii, of the royal trophies carried on Aemilius' ship, the victorious delays of Fabius and the ill-omened battle of Cannae, of gods that turned to answer pious prayers, and of the Lares driving Hannibal off from their Roman home, and Jupiter saved by the goose.)

Notably, too, the passage which Cicero uses in *Pro Murena*, mentioned earlier, is drawn from Book 8 on the Second Punic War, while in *De rerum natura*, when Lucretius sweetens the cup of medicine for his readers by subverting familiar poetic topoi, he draws on examples from the Punic Wars from 'our Ennius' (*Ennius noster* (1.117)). The national crisis of the Second Punic War when *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu | horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris* ('when

³⁴ Bonner (1977), 177, 214; Criore (1996), 46–9.

³⁵ 'specimens of the content of Ennius' *Annales*' (Camps (1966) on Prop. 3.3.7–12). For a similar summary of the content of Virgil's *Eclogues*, cf. Prop. 2.34.67–76. Propertius apparently gets carried away by referring (1.7) to Aemilius Paullus' triumph, an event that occurred (if D'Anna (1979) is wrong) after Ennius' death, thereby adding to the original 'what would have made a fittingly triumphant ending if Ennius had lived to write it' (Heyworth and Morwood (2011) ad loc.); some have therefore argued for the adoption of *cecini* (1.7) (an early conjecture: Heyworth (1986), 200), imagining Propertius himself singing a new, updated, version of Ennius' poem, but *cecinit* is probably right, especially given the similar allusive, cut-and-paste summary, also inaccurate on points of detail, of the *Eclogues* at 2.34.67–76 (where *tu canis* (2.34.67) parallels *cecinit*): see esp. Heyworth (1986), 200–2; Jocelyn (1986).

the whole world, shaken by the terrifying tumult of war, trembled, shuddering under the high shores of heaven' (Lucr. 3.834–5)), echoing *Ann.* 309, *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu* ('the land of Africa trembled, shuddering with the terrible tumult'), is to be considered of little importance in comparison with the consolations of Epicurean philosophy,³⁶ as are the world-shaking deeds of the great Scipio Africanus, commemorated by the old poet (*Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror, | ossa dedit terrae proinde ac famul infimus esset* (Lucr. 3.1034–5)).³⁷

One of the things likely to have made Ennius' epic particularly successful as a school text is that it could provide not just snippets of history, but *exempla* to emulate and avoid. Reading the poem in this way would appeal particularly to Roman educational practice, which from the earlier stages of education sought to edify morally by example as it taught.³⁸ The *exemplum* as an educational tool has a long history, apparently rooted in the earliest period of Roman education as an important way in which the past was remembered and transmitted orally.³⁹ Ennius' epic could provide a paradigmatic 'source of moral examples' in literary form, tapping into a fundamental way of thinking about, transmitting, and remembering the Roman

³⁶ The Ennian line probably describes Scipio's landing in Africa before the Battle of Zama, and is quoted three times by Cicero (*De or.* 3.167; *Orat.* 93; *Ad fam.* 9.7.1 (in a letter to Varro)), and alluded to by Varro (*Men.* 225: *Africa terribilis; contra concurrere ciuii | ciui*, 'O terrible Africa! Citizen battles against citizen'). For Lucretius and Ennius here, see also Gale (1994), 110–11.

³⁷ 'Scipio, thunderbolt of war, the terror of Carthage, gave his bones to the earth just as though he were the lowliest servant'. *belli fulmen* (Lucr. 3.1034) may well be Ennian: Kenney (1984) ad loc.; Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.842; Skutsch (1968), 148. *famul infimus esset* alludes to the end of the now corrupt line *Ann.* 313 (*mortalem summum Fortuna repente | reddidit fsummo regno famul fut foptimus esset*), which Vahlen (*Ann.* 312–13 Vahlen²) restored as *reddidit e summo regno ut famul infimus esset*, now also endorsed in *Ann.* 334 Flores: see Tomasco's note ad loc.; on *infimus* ('lapsus polare'), cf. Timpanaro (1994), 186 n. 44. The form *famul* is found in extant Latin literature only here and at *Ann.* 313 (Skutsch, p. 492).

³⁸ T. Morgan (1998), 145 with n. 138; Litchfield (1914); Skidmore (1996), 13–26; Chaplin (2000), 11–16, and cf. Ter. *Ad.* 414–19; Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.105–21. For poetry as a source of famous *exempla*, see Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.130–1; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.29–30, and 1.8.5 on the reading of Virgil and Homer in the early years, before the intellect is fully developed.

³⁹ For *exempla* in Roman education, see Marrou (1956), 231–6; Skidmore (1996), 13–27; Chaplin (2000), 11–14; Walter (2004), 42–51 and cf. 277. For its importance in Roman culture, see e.g. Bücher (2006), esp. 148–51, 318, 'Erinnerung und "Kollektive Identität"'; Gowing (2005), 16 *et passim*; Hölkeskamp (1996); Chaplin (2000); Langlands (2006), esp. 123–91; Lucarelli (2007); van der Blom (2010), 12–17.

past.⁴⁰ Traces of this can be seen in the poem's Republican reception. As Cicero saw it, the Romans owed a debt to Ennius because of his presentation of the exemplary figures of the Roman past, for in the *Annales*, 'all those Maximi, Marcelli, and Fulvii are not honoured without praising us all as a group' (*Pro Archia* 22).⁴¹ What seem to be the earliest known *exempla*-collections, Varro's *Hebdomades* or *Imagines* and Cornelius Nepos' *Exempla*, were written by self-confessed admirers of Ennius, who could well have used his epic as a familiar source, perhaps echoing similar reading of the *Annales* in the classroom.⁴² One of the few mentions of the 'great men' of the Roman past in Lucretius is made by quoting an obviously familiar line from the *Annales* on the death of Ancus Martius, *lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit* ('even good Ancus closed his eyes to the light' (Lucr. 3.1025)), referring to the exemplary good king of *Ann.* 137: *postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit* ('after good Ancus closed his eyes to the light').⁴³ Ennius' most famous exemplary line summing up Q. Fabius Maximus 'Cunctator', *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* ('one man by delaying restored the state for us' (*Ann.* 363)), has a strong presence in the literature of the first century BC and beyond, quoted and misquoted by Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Augustus.⁴⁴ Essentially, it was as the poet of the greatest deeds of Rome's ancestors (*maxima facta patrum*) that Ennius was remembered in the Republic:

⁴⁰ Quotation from Litchfield (1914), 64–5. For further discussion of Ennian examples in the context of early Republican culture, see Ch. 5, sect. II.

⁴¹ *omnes . . . illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur*. The plural here is typical of *exempla*-lists: see Bücher (2006), 159–60. For exemplarity in Cicero, see Bücher (2006), esp. 228–57; Kaster (2006) on *Pro Sestio* 37, with bibliography; van der Blom (2010).

⁴² Varro's work (a compendious collection of portraits of famous men with explanatory texts), tends to be classed as an early form of *exempla*-collection. On the importance of Ennius for Varro, see Prinzen (1998), 149–52. For Nepos' admiration of Ennius, see his *Cato* 1.4. Ennius is less of a presence in the only fully extant *exempla*-book we have, Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, but Valerius was writing in the period when Virgil's *Aeneid* had been securely established as the new canonical epic, and for direct sources uses almost exclusively famous authors (*inlustres auctores*) writing in prose, in particular Cicero and Livy. On Ennius and Valerius, see Prinzen (1998), 342–5. On Valerius' sources, see Kempf (1888); Bloomer (1992), 56–146; Wardle (1998), 15–18; see also Langlands (2006), 123–91.

⁴³ Litchfield (1914), 12 n. 3. Cf. Lucr. 3.1034–5, on Scipio Africanus, quoted earlier, with Kenney (1984) ad loc.; Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.842; Skutsch (1968), 148.

⁴⁴ On the afterlife of the line, see Stanton (1971); Tipping (2010), 107–8. On Virgil's reception of Ennius' historical *exempla*, see further Ch. 5.

aspicite, o ciues, senis Enni imaginis formam;
hic uestrum panxit maxima facta patrum.

(Look, citizen, at the shape of the portrait of old Ennius;
he depicted the greatest deeds of your ancestors.)⁴⁵

III. READING ENNIUS (II): AUGUSTAN ROME

Ennius est lectus saluo tibi, Roma, Marone

Martial 5.10.7

(Ennius was read by you, Rome, when Virgil was alive)

In 27 BC (the year Varro died), Octavian adopted the name 'Augustus', suggesting a famous line in the *Annales* which looked back to Romulus' foundation of Rome:⁴⁶

septingenti sunt, paulo plus aut minus, anni
augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.

Ann. 154–5 = Varro *Rust.* 3.1.2;

Suet. *Aug.* 7.2 (*Ann.* 155)

(It is seven hundred years, a little more or less,
since famous Rome was founded by august augury.)

Ennius' poem continued to be read as the canonical Roman epic in an educational context and beyond during Virgil's lifetime (as Martial, quoted in the epigraph to this section, later wrote in mock horror: *Ennius est lectus saluo tibi, Roma, Marone* (5.10.7)). In a well-known passage in his epistle to Augustus, written sometime between the late

⁴⁵ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.34 = Courtney *FLP* fr. 45. Though believed in antiquity to be by the poet himself, the epitaph probably comes from Varro: Courtney ad loc.

⁴⁶ As it did to Suetonius: *postea . . . Augusti cognomen assumpsit . . . Munati Planci sententia, cum quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praeualuisset, ut Augustus potius uocaretur, non tantum nouo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur . . . sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens: 'Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est' (Aug. 7.2) ('Later on . . . he took the surname of Augustus . . . on the proposal of Munatius Plancus. While others recommended that Octavian should be called "Romulus" on the grounds that he, too, was, as it were, the founder of the city, Munatius argued successfully that he should rather be called "Augustus", a name that was not only new, but also more impressive: for holy places, too, and places where something has been consecrated by augural rites are termed "august", as Ennius also tells us when he writes 'since famous Rome was founded by august auguries').*

twenties and 8 BC, Horace, with Virgil on his mind (*Epist.* 2.1.245–57), launches an attack on reading preferences in Rome.⁴⁷

Ennius, et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
ut critici dicunt, leuiter curare uidetur
quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
Naeuius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
paene recens? adeo sanctum est uetus omne poema . . .
hos ediscit . . .
Roma potens.

Epist. 2.1.50–4, 60–1

(Ennius, ‘wise’ and ‘bold’ and ‘another Homer’, as the experts say, seems frivolous for worrying about his pronouncements and his Pythagorean dreams: isn’t Naeuius in our hands and sticking in our heads, nearly new? So revered is every old poem . . . It is these that mighty Rome learns by heart.⁴⁸)

While it clearly exaggerates in order to mock, the letter nevertheless reflects some real opinions and practices in the period. The fact that Horace can complain—to his wider readers and his addressee—that these are the poets whose works are still learned by heart in the classroom (*hos ediscit Roma*⁴⁹), and that in the opinions of professional literary experts (*critici*), Ennius is still considered at the top of the canon, ‘Rome’s Homer’, reflects a reality in Roman reading culture. Horace himself remembers reading an even older poet, Livius Andronicus, as a schoolboy in the care of the famous *criticus* Orbilius:⁵⁰

carmina Liui
. . . memini quae plagosum mihi paruo
Orbilius dictare.

Epist. 2.1.69–71

⁴⁷ The poem is normally dated after the *Aeneid*’s final publication, within a more circumscribed period between 15 and 12 BC, but this is not certain: White (1987), 130 n. 11. As *Epist.* 2.1.245–57 make clear, though, Virgil’s epic, in one form or another, seems to have been in Horace’s thoughts, even if only as a glint in the poet’s eye in the form of the planned martial epic of G. 3.1–48.

⁴⁸ *leuiter curare* is an enigmatic and much-disputed phrase. I follow White (1987). For a different view, indentifying implicit criticism of Ennius’ lack of *labor limae*, see esp. Brink (1982) ad loc. and cf. White (1987) for a summary of the critical debate.

⁴⁹ *in scholis*: Porphyryon ad loc. See also Brink (1982); Goldberg (2005), 59.

⁵⁰ Crates of Mallos liked to be called *κριτικός* as opposed to simply *γραμματικός*: Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.79; Kaster (1995), 58; Goldberg (2005), 59 n. 21.

(the poems of Livius, which I remember Orbilius, ready with blows, dictating to me when I was small.)

Richard Bentley wanted to read *Laeui* (*Epist.* 2.1.69) on the grounds that he could not believe that a poet so barbaric could possibly be read in Augustan Rome.⁵¹ But the fact is that, for Horace's generation, Livius and Naevius, and above all Ennius, were the epic poets probably still being studied in the early years of education, and certainly still well known in Rome.⁵² Augustus himself adapts one of Ennius' most famous lines in a letter to Tiberius (*unus homo nobis uigilando restituit rem*, 'one man, by being watchful, restored the state for us'), referring to it as *uersum illum*, pointing to the canonical status of its source.⁵³ So, too, in *Ab urbe condita*, Livy's use of Ennius—the only poet he cites by name—appears to be predicated on the fact that the *Annales* had been read and memorized by his contemporaries in schools,⁵⁴ just as the extensive use of the *Annales* in the *Aeneid* relies on familiar recognition among the same generation of readers.

Writers, moreover, continue to quote the *Annales* as a canonical epic in the period along with Virgil's once the *Aeneid* begins to take

⁵¹ *uix igitur crediderem Orbilium illum . . . tam prauo et peruerso iudicio, ut opica illa Liuii 'nequinot' . . . 'topper' et cetera portenta nobilibus pueris praelegeret* (Bentley (1825), 707–8; drawing on the variant *leui*). Laevius flourished c.100 BC. His only known poem is the *Erotopaegnia* ('love games'), which is likely to have been even less suited *nobilibus pueris*. For criticism of Bentley, see Wilson (1886) on *Epist.* 2.1.69; Brink (1982) ad loc.

⁵² For the reading of Naevius in Augustan Rome, see M. Barchiesi (1962), 38–60: the two were often thought of as a pair in the early epic canon, 'come un minore e un maggiore' (45 n. 181), with Naevius as the lesser poet.

⁵³ Suet. *Tib.* 21.5. Cf. *Ann.* 363: *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*. As Stanton points out, the Ennian verse 'must have been so well known that Augustus could quote it as *uersum illum*, but change the vital word *cunctando* to *uigilando* and expect his readers to notice the difference' (Stanton (1971), 53). Augustus had also employed the grammarian and famous teacher, Verrius Flaccus, to teach his grandsons, a scholar who used the *Annales* as a major source for *De significatu uerborum*, published shortly after the *Aeneid*, which is now an important source for the text. For Verrius Flaccus as 'the most distinguished philological-antiquarian scholar of Rome after Varro', see Kaster (1995), 190. On Verrius' employment by Augustus, which caused him to move to the Palatium, 'taking his whole school with him' (*cum tota schola*), see Suet. *Gram.* 17.2. Some of Verrius' work now survives in the second-century AD epitome by Festus and the eighth-century epitome of Festus by Paulus which is more fully extant (generally cited as 'Paulus-Festus' when the two coincide). For Verrius as a source for Ennius, see Skutsch, pp. 35–8.

⁵⁴ Skutsch, pp. 22–4; cf. also Prinzen (1998), 320; Stanton (1971), 53.

hold.⁵⁵ The almost immediate replacement of Ennius' epic with Virgil's tends to be taken for granted, but the process would not have been as speedy as it is generally portrayed, and the two poets, in fact, coexist in the literary canon for a significant period. Caecilius Epirota famously introduced Virgil's works to schools, but the process would not have been as swift or as significant as traditionally believed. Epirota was not a *grammaticus* and would have taught only a small number of *adulescentes* later in their education.⁵⁶

The kind of Roman canon that has room for both Ennius and Virgil is mirrored in Ovid's list of immortal poets in which he, too, wishes to take his place in *Amores* 1.15:⁵⁷

Ennius arte carens animosique Accius oris
casurum nullo tempore nomen habent;
Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas
aureaque Aesonio terga petita duci?
carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
exitio terras cum dabit una dies;
Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur,
Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit.
Am. 1.15.19–26⁵⁸

(Ennius lacking skill and Accius of spirited tongue have names that will never fall into oblivion; what age will not know Varro and the first ship and the golden fleece sought by the Aesonian leader? The songs of sublime Lucretius will only die when a single day delivers the earth to

⁵⁵ For the reception of the *Annales* among the standard authors, see also, most thoroughly, Prinzen (1998), as well as Skutsch, introd. *passim*; Vahlen², pp. lvi–lxiv; D'Anna (1983b).

⁵⁶ See Suet. *Gram.* 16.3 with Kaster (1995) ad loc. ('since his (few) pupils were mostly *adulescentes* who would already have received instruction in grammar, including the older poets, E.'s teaching would merely have supplemented their previous education'). See also Jocelyn (1988), 59, '[Epirota's] practice of reading recent works with a small number of *adulescentes* is not to be confused with forcing a change on the general syllabus'. Jocelyn notes that Republican authors would still have been regularly taught in Rome when the colonies of Berytus (founded in 15 bc) and Patras (founded in 14 bc) were formed and educational principles imported ((1988), 59 n. 11; cf. Gell. 18.9.5 on a copy of Livius at Patras); cf. Prinzen (1998), 211. On Virgil in schools, see e.g. Horsfall (1995).

⁵⁷ At what precise date he did so is difficult to pin down: according to McKeown ((1987), 75–6), elegies from Book 1 would have been recited c.22–21 bc; book form publication would have probably come with a possible two-book edition, or the final three-book collection later. It appears that the poems were revised 'at some indeterminate date, well before 2 bc' (77); if so, *Amores* 1.15 may have been among them.

⁵⁸ Text: McKeown (1987).

doom; Tityrus and the crops and the arms of Aeneas will be read as long as Rome remains the head of the world it has conquered.)

Ennius' name will never fade (*Am.* 1.15.20), and though lacking *ars* (*Am.* 1.15.19), the implication is that he is nevertheless endowed with talent (*ingenium*), just as Callimachus has *ars* but no *ingenium* (*ingenio non ualeat, arte ualeat*, 'he isn't strong in talent, but in skill' (*Am.* 1.15.14)), a judgement Ovid pronounces explicitly elsewhere (*Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*, 'Ennius, greatest in talent, crude in skill' (*Trist.* 2.424)). The list, moreover, is preceded by a Greek canon list, so that 'as the first Roman poet in the catalogue, Ennius is balanced with Homer'.⁵⁹ For Augustan poets like Ovid and Propertius, criticizing Ennius' 'oldness' formed part of their neoteric self-positioning, but even in these authors the *Annales* still hold their ground.⁶⁰ Ovid's own work is rich in references to Ennius.⁶¹ The epic he wrote was not a twelve-book epic like the *Aeneid*, but a fifteen-book epic, echoing the major fifteen-book sequence of the *Annales*.⁶² Similarly, even with the *Aeneid* on the

⁵⁹ McKeown (1989) ad loc. Virgil meanwhile is thought of as the author of a complete oeuvre covering many genres: *Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur* (1.15.25).

⁶⁰ The habit of criticizing the shortcomings of the *Annales* extends as far back as Lucilius (*Hor. Sat.* 1.10.54). Criticism and parody, in part, come with canonical status: cf. the traditional attacks from the 'Homeromastix' and 'Vergiliomastix' and the parody of the obviously famous Virgil *Ecl.* 1.1 cited by Donatus, *Vit.* 174: *Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?* ('Tityrus, if your toga keeps you warm, what's "the covering of a beech tree" for?').

⁶¹ After Virgil's, Ovid's poetry is the most laden with Ennian echoes in Augustan literature: Prinzen (1998), 270.

⁶² Hofmann (1985), 225. According to Plin. *HN* 7.101, Ennius added Book 16 (*Q. Ennium . . . adiecit sextum decimum annalem*), and fragments securely attested for Book 16 suggest that the poet returned to his material after a break (*Ann.* 403), perhaps in old age (*Ann.* 401, 402; possibly with *Ann.* 522–3 with *Cic. Sen.* 14), thus creating a strong fifteen-book unit (cf. Hills (2001), 614, on book 4 of Horace's *Odes*, the first line of which may echo *Ann.* 403, perhaps part of the proem to Book 16). Just how physically 'separate' Books 1–15 were, however, is a matter of debate. There may originally have been a significant gap in composition and perhaps also in circulation (Jocelyn (1972), 997). Skutsch, analysing the quotation patterns of Festus (i.e. Verrius Flaccus) and other grammarians, argued that a fifteen-book edition continued to circulate in Ovid's day, perhaps alongside an eighteen-book edition (Skutsch (1968), 20; 28 n. 4 with Jocelyn (1972), 999; Skutsch, p. 564), but the idea has its problems, particularly given the fact that the concept of two separate *corpora* does not accord with the materiality of the book roll (Farrell (2008), esp. n. 15; cf. alternative explanations of Festus' quotations given by Skutsch, pp. 36–7). It seems that, just as one can read Horace's *Odes* as either a three- or four-book collection, the poem was probably open to simultaneous readings as a fifteen-book collection (as Ovid probably took it) and an eighteen-book collection (cf. Farrell (2008)).

horizon ('something greater than the *Iliad*', *nescioquid maius* . . . *Iliade* (2.34.66)), when Propertius writes his *recusatio*, he defines himself against the genre of epic not by mentioning Virgil or Varius, but *pater Ennius* (3.3.6). It is also in this poem, and in Horace, *Epist.* 1.19.7, that the designation of Ennius as the 'father' of Roman poetry begins to crop up in extant writing.⁶³

The persistent influence of the *Annales*, too, lies behind the genre of historical epic on Roman martial themes: Hostius' *Bellum Histricum*, for example, generally thought to concern the war waged by Sempronius Tuditanus in 129 BC and probably written not long afterwards, or, in the first century BC, the *Annales Belli Gallici* by Furius Bibaculus and the *Bellum Sequanicum* by Varro Atacinus. The genre continued to be popular in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, with works like Cornelius Severus' *Bellum Siculum* and *Res Romanae* and the anonymous *De Bello Actiaco*.⁶⁴ The subject matter of these poems often suggests that they did not seek to replace the *Annales* by covering the same historical ground, but rather to update them.⁶⁵ It was only at the end of the first century AD that Silius Italicus wrote a poem on the Ennian theme of the Second Punic War in which he inserted a cameo of the antique poet on his epic battlefield (*Pun.* 12.387–414).⁶⁶

The backlash against Ennius' 'traditional' status and style grew, and the poet was widely rejected during the Neronian period. By the end of the first century AD, the *Aeneid* appears to have largely taken

⁶³ On the title *pater*, which also applied in antiquity to Homer, see Prinzen (1998), 265–6 with n. 24.

⁶⁴ Clear echoes of the *Annales* are evident e.g. in Hostius Courtney *FLP* fr. 3 (cf. *Ann.* 469–70) and Bibaculus Courtney *FLP* fr. 10 (= fr. 75 Hollis (2007)). The standard modern work on the genre is the two-volume work, Häußler (1976) and (1978). For historical epic in the second century BC, see also Suerbaum (2002), 278–84. The *Annales Volusi* which Catullus hated (*Annales Volusi, cacata charta*, 'the *Annales* of Voulsius, shitty sheets' (Cat. 36.1)) must have belonged to this genre, too. For Severus, see Hollis (2007), 340–67; Courtney *FLP*, pp. 320–8. For *De Bello Actiaco*, see Courtney *FLP*, pp. 334–40; the date of the work is uncertain, and suggestions have ranged from the Augustan to Neronian periods.

⁶⁵ Cf. Goldberg (2005), 22: 'The success of Ennius' *Annales* had so codified and canonized the early history of Rome and established history as the subject of Latin epic that later poets could imagine little more than a continuation of its story', or else some of its mythical back-narrative: the poet Largus, for example, wrote on the wanderings of Antenor and his arrival in Italy before Aeneas (Hollis (2007), 424).

⁶⁶ On Silius' reception of Ennius, see esp. Woodruff (1910); Prinzen (1998), 390–401; Casali (2006a); and cf. Ch. 4 here.

over as school reading. The *Annales* continued to be read, however. Papyrus discoveries from Herculaneum as well as possible Ennian graffiti at Pompeii suggest that the epic was still familiar to some readers well into the second half of the first century AD.⁶⁷ In the *Institutio oratoria* (probably written and published before Domitian's death in AD 96), Quintilian urged that Ennius be 'revered like a sacred grove'.⁶⁸ Later, when the archaic was in vogue again, Hadrian would famously state that he preferred Ennius to Virgil, which would have meant new copies in circulation, perhaps even in the classroom,⁶⁹ but the enthusiasm wore off, and after the fifth century AD, if not well before, the complete text of Ennius' epic appears to have disappeared from general circulation.⁷⁰

Towards the end of *Epistles* 2.1, Horace makes a case for the new poetry's ability to take over the educative function played by Ennius and poets like him:

os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,
torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem,
mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,

⁶⁷ For Pompeii, see Cugusi (1985), 165–9, on CLE 1785. CLE 2052 (far less evidence than for the *Aeneid*). Though available to be read, the Herculaneum copy (PHerc. 21) was probably not recent in AD 79. The unusual script suggests that the text of the *Annales* in the library of the Villa dei Papiri was old—perhaps older than the middle of the second century BC: Kleve (1994). The author of CLE 1533 = CIL 9.60 (late Flavian) may have had the *Annales* in mind: Skutsch on *Ann.* 380 with Norden (1957), 437 n. 2.

⁶⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.88. It is not clear whether Quintilian actually consulted a copy of the *Annales* for his judgements and quotations: see Skutsch, p. 29.

⁶⁹ SHA, *Had.* 16; Skutsch, p. 25. On the disappearance of Republican literature from the school curriculum at some point late in the reign of Augustus or during that of Tiberius and its partial reappearance under Hadrian, see Jocelyn (1988), 58–9 and 63–4. Gellius, who may have published as late as the joint or sole reign of Commodus (Holford-Strevens (2003), 21), claims to know lines of the *Annales* from memory (NA 10.29.2; 20.10.40), to have seen a copy (1.22.16), and to have heard the epic recited (18.5.2).

⁷⁰ Macrobius and Servius are unlikely to be quoting Ennius at first hand: see Skutsch, p. 31; Cameron (2011), 408–10 (on Servius, *Serv. Dan.*, and Macrobius). Ennian quotations found in Orosius *Histories* (c. AD 418) and its manuscripts seem to derive from a text or epitome of Livy: see Skutsch, pp. 25–6 ('that a text of Ennius should still have been available after AD 418... would be very remarkable'). Skutsch thought that Ausonius (c.310–94) had first-hand access to a copy of the epic (Skutsch, p. 19), but Cameron (2011), 406–7, is probably right in assuming that he found the monosyllabic line ends he quotes already collected in a grammatical work rather than in a text of Ennius.

asperitatis et inuidiae corrector et irae;
recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
instruit exemplis.

Epist. 2.1.126–31

(The poet moulds a child's soft and lisping mouth; even then he turns the ear away from obscene language; soon, too, he forms the soul with friendly precepts, a corrector of harshness, envy, and anger; he relates virtuous deeds and equips the growing generation with famous examples.)

Virgil's epic did eventually take over from Ennius' *Annales*, not just in education but as the defining text of Roman culture. In the first century BC, however, it was fundamentally for an *Ennianus populus* that Virgil was writing.⁷¹

IV. CONCLUSION

The *Annales* played a large part in the horizon of expectations of the *Aeneid*'s first readers. By the time Virgil made the move to take Ennius on, the *Annales* had long become canonical, linked by their reception with Roman cultural memory and the native past. Early Republican literature was partly a construction of the first century BC,⁷² and the *Annales* were constructed as Rome's canonical epic, an equivalent to Homer's *Iliad* which could also function as a carrier of Rome's tradition, Rome's culture, and Rome's history. The status of the *Annales* as the epic of Rome means that the poem constitutes a key part of the intertextual fabric within which the *Aeneid*, as epic, weaves itself. Moreover, as I argue in the chapters that follow, the link between the *Annales* and the ways in which the Roman past was remembered, in particular its role as a repository of historical narrative and exemplary figures, was to be crucial to Virgil's engagement with his epic precursor.

⁷¹ Sen. apud Gell. 12.2.10.

⁷² Goldberg (2005).

‘Archaic’ Poets

I. INTRODUCTION

In one of the most widely influential studies of intertextuality in Latin literature, Stephen Hinds argues that Roman epic displays a deep-rooted tendency to construct itself as ‘new’ and define its predecessors as ‘archaic’.¹ This dynamic, for Hinds, is seen in the *Annales*, and specifically the opening of Book 1, which self-consciously invokes the Greek *Musae* rather than the Livian *Camenae*, and in the proem to Book 7, where Ennius pauses to take explicit issue with his precursors writing in Saturnians, above all Naevius in the *Bellum Punicum*. Unlike Ennius, the Hellenistic ‘New Poet’ par excellence, *dicti studiosus* and importing the sleek new Greek hexameters to Rome, Naevius wrote in archetypal ‘primitive’ verses which once the Fauns and seers used to sing (*uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant* (*Ann.* 207)). For Hinds, Ennius effectively constructed his predecessors as ‘archaic poets’, ‘old’ and native in contrast to his own ‘new’, urbane importation of Greece, so shunting them out of the literary canon as obsolete. Hinds argues that the same move is made by Virgil in the imagined epic in the proem to *Georgics* 3 (1–48): Virgil, in turn, fashions himself as the ‘new’ poet importing the cultural goods of Greece to Rome, declaring Ennius old-fashioned and obsolete and thereby consigning him ‘to the dustbin, or archive room, of literary history’.² Our conventional narrative of literary history, Hinds argues, is thus implicitly constructed by the ancient poets themselves, and Virgil’s is the version that won.

¹ *Allusion and Intertext: The Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (= Hinds (1998)), ch. 3, ‘Diachrony: Literary History and Its Narratives’, esp. 52–83.

² Hinds (1998), 55.

While Hinds's argument is both interesting and effective, shaking up the status quo in order to allow us to see the conventional 'Archaic Poets' of textbook literary history as, in fact, revolutionary and 'new' in their own right, it contains a number of problems. Though some of Ennius' statements may have 'an anachronistically neoteric ring',³ what 'Hellenistic novelty' meant to Virgil and what it meant to Ennius may in reality have been different things, particularly as regards Virgil's explicitly 'Callimachean' agenda.⁴ The more fundamental issue, though, is that the Roman attitude to history could not allow the outright rejection of the past that Hinds's narrative of thoroughgoing Hellenizing revolutions implies. The culture of *memoria* in Republican Rome was fundamental and widespread, including the preservation and idealization of the 'primitive' past. Whatever he said in his proems, a substantial part of the narrative of the epic Ennius in fact wrote, like that of the *Bellum Punicum*, was focused on the beginnings of Rome and Roman customs and traditions: on the *moribus antiquis* (Ann. 156) with which the *Annales* engage on more levels than one.⁵ As I argue in Section II of this chapter, even though his poetic manifesto seems to emphasize the aesthetics of novelty, it is partly with the 'old' native tradition established in Roman epic by Livius and Naevius that Ennius' poem, masked by the poet's explicit proemial statements of outright Hellenizing novelty, is, consciously or unconsciously, competing. The Bloomian dynamics of appropriation involved (already suggested in comments by Cicero about Ennius' unacknowledged 'thefts' from Naevius (*Brutus* 76)) need not necessarily pivot on being 'new' and importing the Greek Muse. In fact, on a Bloomian reading, the more loudly the poet proclaims his 'newness' the more anxiety about not being 'old' enough ought to underlie his poem.

When it comes to Augustan Rome, moreover, the idea of simply throwing out the old 'to the dustbin, or the archive room' in the name of the aesthetics of novelty seems fundamentally out of place. The Augustan Revolution, and that includes the self-conscious literary revolution of the period, went out deliberately in search of the old—real, invented, or reinvented—as a way of legitimizing and

³ Hinds (1998), 60.

⁴ On the problems of identifying the extent and nature of Hellenistic, and specifically Callimachean, influence on the *Annales*, see Introduction, sect. IV.

⁵ According to tradition, it was Cato the Elder—the past's most vocal spokesman—who originally brought Ennius to Rome (Nep. *Cato* 1.3–4 with *De uir ill.* 47.1). Suerbaum (2002), 122 (*contra* Badian (1972), 155–6) reaffirms the story's plausibility.

strengthening the claims of the new.⁶ In a culture whose ‘retrospective habitus’⁷ was essential to its sense of self, in which cultural memory of the deep past was key to identity, simple ejection of the old was neither possible nor desirable. The preservation and appropriation of antiquity despite claims to novelty were evident throughout the culture of the period. The archive room, as well as its fabrications, were coming into their own in the service of the modern;⁸ ancient priestly confraternities, most famously the Arval Brethren, were revived,⁹ while in architecture and the visual arts, archaic specimens and features were deliberately incorporated into new buildings as part of the visual language of Augustan Rome.¹⁰ The effect was ‘new’, even revolutionary, but it was essentially predicated on the selective appropriation of the old. Something similar was going on in literature, too, and in particular in Rome’s new epic. With its eye to contemporary Rome (‘all gold now’, *aurea nunc* (*Aen.* 8.348)), the *Aeneid* is nevertheless set in an ancient landscape and focuses on an ancient theme. Its style, moreover, operates on the deliberate judicious inclusion of the archaic. Particularly given the reception of Ennius’ poem in the run-up to the *Aeneid*, Virgil’s epic ambition to link back to Rome’s early past even as he proclaimed his own novelty, found a crucial epic competitor in Ennius’ *Annales*. In the final sections of this chapter, I explore how the dynamics of this competition work on a poetological level in Virgil’s self-fashioning in the proem to *Aeneid* 7 and meta-poetically in his characters, and on the micro-level of language in the *Aeneid*’s use of archaic diction. I aim to show that Virgil’s poetic self-construction engages directly with Ennius’ rejection of the archaic verse of ‘Fauns’ and ‘seers’ in what is a larger bid, which can also be seen to manifest itself on a stylistic level, to present the *Aeneid* as Rome’s new Ur-Epos: an urbane epic for a new age, but also thoroughly old.

⁶ On the ‘Roman Revolution’ in the period, see famously Syme (1939) with Habinek and Schiesaro (1997).

⁷ T. Hölscher (2006), 240.

⁸ Wallace-Hadrill (2008), ch. 5.

⁹ White (1993), 188.

¹⁰ Plin. *HN* 36.13 describes the use of archaic works even in the pediment (*in fastigio*) of the Augustan Temple of Palatine Apollo (Zanker (1990), 242–4). On archaizing and the archaic in Augustan art, see esp. Zanker (1988) and (1990), 240–5; Fullerton (1990); T. Hölscher (2006), 250, who links the question specifically with issues of memory.

II. ENNIUS AND HIS PRECURSORS

Ennius explicitly presented the *Annales* as a revolutionary 'new' work on the epic's first appearance in Rome. Divided into books like the latest editions of Homer from Alexandria, the poem announced its Greek revolution in its physical form to its first audience.¹¹ Then, in the famous proem to *Annales* 1, the poet broke dramatically with the epic writers who preceded him:

Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum
Ann. 1 = Varro *Ling.* 7.20;
 Serv. on *Aen.* 11.660

(Muses, who beat great Olympus with your feet)

The Saturnian metre had been the 'native' medium which Livius in the *Odussia* and Naevius in the *Bellum Punicum* had deliberately chosen for their epics, but here in this proem Ennius militantly declares his new importation of Greek hexameters to Latin epic.¹² *Musae*, too, in programmatic opposition to the Latin *Camēnae* who had provided inspiration to Livius and Naevius, pointedly invokes the Greek goddesses of Homer or Hesiod. More audaciously still, Ennius went on in the proem to tell of a dream in which Homer visited him in order to declare that he had been incarnated in Ennius' body.¹³ Finally, in a second major proem in Book 7 of the *Annales*, the poet attacked his rivals head-on:

scripsere alii rem
 uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant

[cum] neque Musarum scopulos
 nec dicti studiosus [quisquam erat] ante hunc

Ann. 206–7, 208–9¹⁴

¹¹ The *Bellum Punicum* was written *uno uolumine* and divided into book units only at a later stage (Suet. *Gram.* 2.2). On Ennius' book divisions, see Jocelyn (1972), 1010; Hutchinson (2008), 26.

¹² Cf. Gildenhard (2003), 93 n. 3: 'This astonishing feat of prosodic pioneering alone marks Ennius as one of the great innovators, even adventurers, in the history of literature.' Hinds (1998), quoting Alessandro Barchiesi, points out that *pedibus* might be taken self-reflexively as a moment of 'self-annotation', since 'the *Saturnius* of all metres has no *pedes* at all' (57 n. 6).

¹³ *Ann.* 2–11 and Ix with Skutsch ad locc. and further *testimonia* in Skutsch, pp. 150–3.

¹⁴ = Cic. *Brut.* 71, 76; *Orat.* 157, 171; *Div.* 1.114; Varro *Ling.* 7.36; Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.115; *Origo gentis Romanae* 4.5; Cic. *Brut.* 71; *Orat.* 171. With this, perhaps also *Ann.* 458, *neque me decet hanc carinantibus edere cartis* and *Op. inc.* 20, *uersus longi*,

(others have written on the topic in verses which once the Fauns and seers used to sing . . . [when] neither the rocks of the Muses . . . nor [was anyone] careful of speech before this man)

Faunei and *uates* dismiss previous epic poets as archetypally primitive 'Fauns' and 'seers'. At line 209, *dicti studiosus* ('careful of speech', 'studious of the word'), emphasizes the poet's careful diction, and has been seen to work as a translation of the Alexandrian φιλόλογος.¹⁵ Newer, slicker, thoroughly Hellenizing, the poem fundamentally claims its own position by rewriting the incipient narrative of literary history with the *Annales* as the real importation of the Muse to Rome.¹⁶

But his precursors' native antiquity was in reality not as unknowingly backward as Ennius would have it. Livius and Naevius, in fact, presented an implicit threat not so much to Ennius' claims to novelty in the *Annales* as to his claims to be a spokesman for Roman antiquity. In the opening of the *Odussia*, Livius Andronicus had set out the principles on which the new genre he was inaugurating in Rome would be based:

uirum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum

1 *FPL* = Gell. 18.9.5

(Tell me, Camena, of the man of many turns)

The line works 'fast wie ein Programm' for what Livius was trying to achieve.¹⁷ Livius' poem set out deliberately to create a careful translation that would draw on existing tradition in order to root Homer in Roman soil. Clearly capable of showing an 'astonishing mastery' in rendering Greek metres in his other works, Andronicus selects the old, native Saturnian metre for his epic.¹⁸ Instead of transliterating the Homeric *Μοῦσα*, he searches out an equivalent goddess in Roman

which may be part of 'a statement contrasting the hexameter . . . with the lines of the *Faunei uatesque*' (Skutsch, p. 370): see Skutsch's notes ad locc.

¹⁵ Skutsch on *Ann.* 209 and Skutsch (1968), 6–7. Though later ancient readers may well have interpreted the phrase, as Skutsch does, within a specifically Alexandrian orientation, Goldberg (1995), 91, is probably right to be sceptical: '[i]t is by no means certain that was in fact an Alexandrian catchword in Ennius' day—the first man known to have claimed the title was Eratosthenes, his older contemporary—or that Ennius means to associate himself here with Alexandrian literary canons'. Hutchinson (1988), 279 n. 4, notes that the phrase 'seems more likely to mean "literary" than "scholarly" in this context'.

¹⁶ Hinds (1998), 57.

¹⁷ Büchner (1968), 38.

¹⁸ G. W. Williams (1982), 57.

tradition, calling on the *Camena*, one of a group of ancient source goddesses associated with a spring outside the Porta Capena, whose name could also evoke *carmen*.¹⁹ *Insece* in the second half of the line, probably an archaism for the poem's first audience, a neat rendering of Homer's ἐννεπε, exemplifies Livius' practice of using archaism and dialect words as a means of creating a language 'equivalent' to Homer's antique diction while it also revives and appropriates native words and forms that were out of common use in Latin.²⁰ Livius flags up his epic as one that brings in the cultural goods of Greece to Rome, but at the same time crucially has its roots within the native past. The same kind of deliberate identification with old traditions is recognized for Naevius as an epic poet, too. The *Bellum Punicum*, written in Saturnians by a poet who was equally able in rendering Greek metre, is thought to have followed Livius in invoking the *Camenae* as well as in searching within the resources native to Latin, particularly archaic words and forms, to make up its poetic language.²¹ Naevius went further in linking the new genre to native concerns, centring his narrative on Roman history.²² The poem dealt with a nearly contemporary moment of the national past, the First Punic War of its title, but three of its seven books focused on the Aeneas-legend and the foundation of Rome (so partly sharing the subject matter of his *praetexta Romulus* or *Lupus*). These two apparently 'archaic' poets, as Ennius would soon seem to present them in his version of the master-plot of Roman literary history, were, in fact, in important ways deliberately trying to appear 'old' and home-grown to begin with, combining emulation of Homer and his Greek successors with a poetic project that anchored their epics to native tradition.

¹⁹ Waszink (1979). This accords with Livius' practice with other deities: see Fraenkel (1931); Aicher (1986); Suerbaum (2002).

²⁰ Skutsch, p. 499: 'highly archaic', probably already for Livius: Mariotti (1952), 37; Fraenkel (1931), 606. On Livius' archaisms, see Fraenkel (1931), 604–7; Mariotti (1952); Aicher (1986), 16, and generally on the ways in which Livius 'drew on . . . indigenous resources of the Latin language' (6). On his dialect glosses, see Sheets (1981). The artistry of the line is brought out in comparison with Horace's mock version as compositional advice for the wise epic poet (*dic mihi, Musa, uirum* (Ars P. 141)).

²¹ On archaisms in Naevius, see esp. Mariotti (1955), 68–73; M. Barchiesi (1962), 71–88.

²² 'The *Bellum Punicum* is the first Latin epic with a Roman theme . . . rooted in Rome's prehistory . . . in this sense Naevius was as much a trailblazer as Andronicus' (Conte (1994), 44).

Part of Ennius' 'anxiety of influence', therefore, is about competing with Livian and Naevian 'oldness'. Along with the Hellenizing novelty that he explicitly foregrounds in his proemial self-fashioning, his poem was also 'native' and 'old'. As well as claiming to be the reincarnation of Homer, Ennius also claimed descent from the south Italian Messapus, announcing, too, that he had three hearts (*tria corda*) because he spoke not only Greek, but Oscan and Latin as well.²³ If the first impressions his epic made were strikingly 'Greek', it could be seen as strikingly 'Roman', too. The narrative began at the fall of Troy, implying continuation from Homer,²⁴ but its subject matter was Rome, from the primeval period of the city and its early traditions, its early conquests in Italy and foreign wars, down to events shortly before the poet's death in 169 BC.²⁵ Once-conventional associations of the title *Annales* with the *Annales Maximi* are almost certainly anachronistic, but there is a possibility that Ennius' title might just have suggested to his first readers, nonetheless, annual recordings of the *pontifices* that preceded them, thus associating his epic with the public preservation of Roman *memoria*.²⁶ Whether imitating earlier records or not, it is clear from the fragments themselves that, even as the epic invoked 'the Greek economy of heroism and memory',²⁷ it also drew on home-grown aspects of cultural memorization, including cults, festivals, and ceremonies (*Ann.* 114–18, 240–1²⁸);

²³ Serv. on *Aen.* 7.691; Gell. 17.17.1. *Ann.* 525, *nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante Rudini* may have been spoken in the poet's voice: Skutsch ad loc.

²⁴ Breed and Rossi (2006), 412.

²⁵ Cf. also Skutsch, p. 6, on the apparent uniqueness of Ennius' narrative project in known Greek or Latin poetry: 'we know of no epic poem before Ennius' *Annales* which covered the history of a nation from its beginnings to the poet's own day'. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus had written prose histories of Rome in Greek. Cf. Suerbaum (2002), 134; Walter (2004), 259, on the *Annales* as 'Gesamtgeschichte'.

²⁶ On Ennius as 'the "Annalist" before the Annalists', see esp. Gildenhard (2003), 94–5 and Elliott (2005), 5–16, with Rüpke (1993) and Frier (1999), esp. pp. v–xix (contrast Skutsch, p. 6 (now dated)). For the critical debate on the existence and antiquity of priestly records, cf. Suerbaum (2002), 62 Lit. 4. with extensive references. For possible associations of Ennius' title with earlier pontifical records (though what these were like and when they began or ceased remains a matter of dispute), see Walter (2004), 261, and Petzold (1999), 256. Connotations of the *Annales Maximi* would, at least, become relevant in the poem's reception, helping to cement the notion of the epic as a preserver of Roman antiquity.

²⁷ Gildenhard (2003), 96.

²⁸ *Ann.* 240–1, a list of gods that seems to accord with the description of a ritual institution, probably names those present at the *lectisternium* of 217 BC (see Skutsch ad loc.).

the founding of temples and games (*Ann.* I.li = Schol. Bern. on G. 2.384); and elections of consuls (*Ann.* 290, 304–8). It is true that Ennius' Hellenizing revolution mirrored Fulvius' literal importation of the Muses to Rome, when the general brought cult statues home from his campaign in Ambracia and housed them in the *Aedes Herculis Musarum* (an episode which may have closed Book 15 of the *Annales*), thereby achieving in concrete terms Ennius' metaphorical claim to 'import the Muse'. But Fulvius' move also involved the appropriation of the old and the native: the ancient shrine of the *Camēnae* was incorporated into the temple (Serv. on *Aen.* 1.8) and Roman-oriented *fasti* set up on the wall, and it is in this cultural appropriation, not just from Greece but also from Rome, that Ennius' epic engages, too.²⁹

One of the peculiar things about the *Annales*, moreover, is that the poem unearthed some surprisingly archaic Latin diction. As Skutsch's edition and commentary have made especially evident, Ennius goes further than Livius and Naevius ever did in digging up or inventing obsolete words and forms, apparently employing some of the most flamboyantly 'antique' language in the history of Roman poetry.³⁰ The issue of archaism in Ennius is potentially problematic. Much surviving comedy, for instance, uses metrically useful forms that, from the perspective of classical Latin, would be seen as archaisms, and may already have felt dated in the second century BC, such as the passive infinitive ending *-ier*³¹ and genitive singular of the first declension in *-ai*. But it is clear on the evidence that we have that, while the *Annales* include these forms, too,³² the language of the poem also contains pronounced and deliberate archaisms that would have been markedly antique in the 180s BC, including words not found elsewhere apart from the Twelve Tables, as well as pseudo-archaisms that seem to have been crafted especially for the *Annales*.

²⁹ Cf. Breed and Rossi (2006), 408. *Ann.* 487, *Musas quas memorant nosce nos esse Camēnas*, may plausibly have been part of the episode as recounted by Ennius: see Skutsch ad loc.; Fabrizi (2008). Cf. Hinds (1998), 55, 62–3. On the relationship between Ennius and Fulvius' *fasti*, see Gildenhard (2003), 94–7; Rüpke (2006): it may in fact be this temple rather than the pontifical records with which the poem engaged most closely. Cf. also Goldberg (1995), 130–1, on Fulvius' antiquarianism.

³⁰ On Ennian archaisms, see esp. Skutsch *passim*; Mariotti (1951); Manzoni (1988); Elliott (2005), 32–3.

³¹ Leumann i.581.

³² For genitive in *-ai*, see e.g. *Ann.* 179 and 510 with Skutsch, p. 61. *laudari* appears at *Ann.* 574; the form is also found twice in the tragedies.

Many of these archaic forms (*so-*, *oll-*, *haece*), are wholly avoided in earlier and contemporary literature, including Ennius' tragedies, which suggests that the poet deliberately sought out an archaic vocabulary for his epic.³³ The anaphoric pronoun in the stem *so-*, for example, occurs in the Twelve Tables and then exclusively in Ennius and exclusively in the *Annales*;³⁴ similarly, the demonstrative in *oll-* never occurs in drama, including Ennius' tragedies, and was clearly no longer part of everyday or poetic speech,³⁵ while *haece* (268) appears to have lost the pronunciation of its final *-e* by the third century BC.³⁶ Other diction, too, would have been archaic for the period, including *indu* (272, 434) and *endo* (587) as forms of *in*,³⁷ or *quamde* for *quam* (92, 122).³⁸

In part, the effect of Ennius' archaizing project in the *Annales* is to 'trumpet connection with Homer' and his Greek successors even more loudly than Livius and Naevius had done, combining with the

³³ The fact that grammarians who knew the tragedies and quoted from them frequently, nevertheless exemplify these archaisms only from epic is in itself a useful indication of the distinctive archaizing of epic language: Cf. Fraenkel (1931), 603–5.

³⁴ Lucretius 3.1025 (*lumina sis oculis . . . bonus Ancus reliquit*) is quoting Ennius. If the reading is correct, there is one other possible use in Latin at Cic. *Leg.* 2.21.3, probably influenced by the use of the form in the Twelve Tables (VII.7) and its revival by Ennius, occurring in a passage notable for its concentration of archaisms: see J. G. F. Powell (2005), 141 and Cf. Dyck (2004), 308 ad loc. On this 'highly archaic alternative' to the pronoun *is*, see Skutsch, p. 64.

³⁵ Skutsch, pp. 64–5: 'appears . . . clearly as a deliberate archaism'. On archaic *oll-* cf. also Manzoni (1988), 277–8; Riscato (1950), 97; Leumann i.470. The form is preserved in some archaizing formulae including legal language and the Twelve Tables (Dyck (2004), 295). Lucretius, Virgil, and Silius (1.104) later use the form to evoke Ennius. (Cf. *TLL* 569.46ff.)

³⁶ See Skutsch, p. 451 on the 'remarkable archaism', pointing out the absence of the final *-e* in all other extant literature in forms in which the final *-c* could be pronounced without the support of a vowel (and the general elision of *-e* in all other cases), though there are traces of Ennius' form in the (typically archaizing) language of legal inscriptions (e.g., *CIL* 1².581 and 583).

³⁷ 'highly archaic forerunners of *in*' (Skutsch, p. 454); *endo* appears in the Twelve Tables (I.2; III.3; III.4; VIII.13). *indu* is found in extant Latin only twice in Lucilius (1023 Krenkel = 970 Marx; 1254 Krenkel = 1230 Marx) and twice in Lucretius (2.1096; 5.102), all instances that are likely to have been influenced by Ennius (Krenkel on 1023 and cf. *Ann.* 272 (*indu foro*) with Lucil. 1254 Krenkel = 1230 Marx (*indu foro*)).

³⁸ Found once in Livius (apparently a genuine archaism drawn from religious *carmina* and legal statutes: Sheets (1981), 67 n. 35) and once in Lucretius (1.640): see Skutsch, p. 238. For other possible contenders for archaic diction, see Skutsch's commentary *passim*. Though the frequency of these might be exaggerated by the fact that many lines are quoted by grammarians interested specifically in linguistic oddity, they appear in fragments that are quoted for other reasons, too.

Graecisms in the poem to create an equivalent to Homer's *Kunst-sprache* for Latin epic and the true Roman Homer.³⁹ Alternatively, if Skutsch is right after all about interpreting the problematic *dicti studiosus* (Ann. 209) as an equivalent to the Alexandrian *φιλόλογος*, its effect might be seen to corroborate Ennius' other overt proemial claim to an Alexandrian learnedness suited to the first real *doctus poeta* in Rome by flagging up the erudition of his diction. But at the same time Ennius' use of highly self-conscious 'old' language implicitly asserts a continuity with the past established by his Roman precursors, appropriating the implicit claims of preceding epic to antique native traditions within his epic's 'newer', Grecker aesthetics. As Thomas Habinek observes of Cato, archaic language, formulae, and prayer can function as a powerful and competitive means of laying 'claim to the Roman past'.⁴⁰

In addition to its archaisms, some of the most notable features of the *Annales'* style, particularly figures such as alliterative pairs and *figurae etymologicae*, draw on other elements preserved in native *carmina*.⁴¹ Religious and legal formulae appear both in speeches and in narrative sections of the poem in adapted forms, evoking the newly imported formulaic quality of Homeric epic, but also carrying the familiar connotation of native tradition.⁴² Moreover, while Livius'

³⁹ E.g. Aicher (1986); Elliott (2005). Links between archaic language in early Roman epic and post-Homeric traditions (partly in defence of accusations of 'primitivity') are emphasized by Fraenkel (1931) (for Livius) and Mariotti (1955) (for Naevius).

⁴⁰ Habinek (1998), 48, on the sociolinguistics of Cato's *De agricultura*. For suggestions of the ideological connection between archaisms and the *mos maiorum*, cf. also Farrell's comments on archaism in female speech (Farrell (2001), 65).

⁴¹ E.g., *uires uitaque* (Ann. 37); *uoce uidetur* (Ann. 43); *pulcerrima praepes* (Ann. 86); *fortunatim feliciter* (Ann. 103); *augusto augurio* (Ann. 155), or the more intricate *accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum* (Ann. 32), echoing the kind of alliterative pairs and figures preserved, for instance, in the ancient prayer to Mars (*fruges frumenta, uineta uirgultaque . . . lustrandi lustrique* (Cato Agr. 141)) and the Iguvine Tablets (*tursitu tremitu, hondu holtu, nunctu nepitu, sonitu sauitu, preplotatu preuilatu* (VIb 60)). Cf., similarly, the piling up of synonymous words in 'congeries', e.g., Ann. 498, *flentes plorantes lacrumantes obtestantes*, 'weeping, crying, shedding tears, beseeching', with the prayer to Mars, *prohibisses, defendas, auerruncesque*, 'that you prevent, fend off, and brush aside' (Agr. 141). Cf. Aicher (1986), 42–3, and G. W. Williams (1982), 53–5, on *carmina* as existing native forms 'ready to be used'. On the continuation of traditional patterns detectable in Ennius' hexameter, echoing 'sequences of sound and thought that his audience already knows', see Goldberg (1995), 92–3.

⁴² In speech, e.g. Ann. 26: *Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*, 'and you father Tiber with your holy stream': see Serv. on Aen. 8.72 for a similar traditional prayer, and Ann. 102–3: *quod mihi reiue fidei regno uobisque, Quirites, | se*

narrative was ultimately tied to its Greek original, and the fragments of the *Bellum Punicum* appear to suggest that Naevius by and large restricted archaic language to the 'mythical' section of his narrative nearer to Homeric time, matching his style to his subject matter, Ennius uses deliberately ancient language throughout his poem, extending the appearance of antiquity forwards in time to his accounts of familiar national events within living memory.⁴³ One passage that is seen particularly as a rejection of Saturnian epic tradition is the opening of *Annales* 10, where Ennius quotes the distinctive word of Livius' *incipit*:

insece Musa manu Romanorum induperator
quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo

Ann. 322–3 = Gell. 18.9.3–5;

Paul. Fest. 99

(Tell me, Muse, what each commander of the Romans accomplished
with feats of valour in the war with King Philip)

At one level Ennius 'corrects' Livius, replacing, in his newly imported hexameter line, the old 'Camena' with his new 'Musa', so juxtaposing Livius' programmatic word with the revolutionary stylistic and cultural innovation of his poem (*insece Musa*).⁴⁴ Yet at the same time, the second half of the line ends with one of the *Annales*' highly self-conscious pseudo-archaisms, *induperator*.⁴⁵ Partly coined for the sake of metre from the archaic preposition *indu* for *in*,⁴⁶ it functions as 'a metrically convenient coinage with a contrived whiff of ancient days'.⁴⁷ Taken with other linguistic markers of the antique in the

fortunatim feliciter ac bene uortat, 'and may this turn out for me, for my faith, for the kingdom, and for you, Quirites, fortunately, happily and well': see Skutsch ad loc. for similar formulae. For formulae incorporated or adapted into narrative, cf. also Newman (1967b), 95 (*praepete ferro*); Wigodsky (1972), 45–7 (*nox intempesta; ore fauete*); Aicher (1986). Generally on the variety of linguistic registers employed in Ennius' epic, see e.g. Mariotti (1951).

⁴³ Elliott (2005) shows that there was a consistency of presentation of the chronologically early material and material within living memory, thus binding together past and present time in a single 'archaizing programme'. (The tenor of Elliott's argument is that this is equivalent to 'Homerizing', thereby demonstrating that the *Annales* are less 'annalistic' than traditional accounts of the poem presume.)

⁴⁴ Waszink (1979), 95; Skutsch, p. 499; Hinds (1998), 59; Sciarrino (2006), 463–4.

⁴⁵ Also found at *Ann.* 78 (the role Romulus and Remus are contesting), 347, 577. The Ennian word later appears in Lucr. 4.967; 5.1227, and mockingly in Juv. 4.29.

⁴⁶ Skutsch, pp. 454, 227–8.

⁴⁷ Goldberg (1995), 106 on the use of the word at *Ann.* 78.

poem, the change does not really seem to be one from 'archaic' to 'new', or 'native' to 'Greek'. The new epic, in the end, has it both ways: simultaneously 'new' and 'old', foreign and home-grown. Ennius, the 'old' poet in the traditional master-plot of Roman literary history, was a Hellenizing, urbane 'new' poet, but as an epic poet he was in many ways 'old' and native, too.

As such, particularly given its later reception, his epic perpetuates another current in early Roman epic succession, the claim of the new poet to the 'archaic'. Though some of Ennius' initial readers found his poem too new, his later readers, increasingly disregarding his explicit statements of Hellenizing revolution, emphasized the old and the native in his poetry.⁴⁸ Around the beginning of the first century BC, Aelius Stilo, one of Rome's most important grammarians, a teacher of Varro and Cicero, and a researcher of the antique himself, identified *Annales* 268–86 as an embedded self-portrait of the poet, quoted approvingly by Gellius (12.4).⁴⁹ The lines refer to a 'Good Companion' of the general Gn. Servilius Geminus, whom we see on the battlefield of the Second Punic War, probably at Cannae. The passage seems to have suggested to Stilo early patronage relations between the Roman poet and his powerful friends, such as Scipio Africanus and Fulvius Nobilior. But it also characterizes Stilo's (and Varro's⁵⁰) vision of Ennius as a fundamental preserver of tradition:

multa tenens antiqua, sepulta uetustas
quae facit, et mores ueteresque nouosque †tenentem⁵¹
multorum ueterum leges diuomque hominumque

Ann. 282–3 = Gell. 12.4.4

⁴⁸ For the initial backlash against Ennius, notably by the author, in Saturnians, of the so-called *Carmen Priami*, generally thought to be post-Ennian, who invokes the *ueteres Casmenas* for his *casam rem* (Varro *Ling.* 7.28; Courtney *FLP*, p. 44), see Goldberg (2005), 26; cf. Ll. Morgan (2010), 286–300.

⁴⁹ Gell. 12.4.5: *L. Aelium Stilonem dicere solitum ferunt Q. Ennium de semet ipso haec scripsisse picturamque istam morum et ingenii ipsius Q. Ennii factam esse* ('They say that Lucius Aelius Stilo used to declare that Quintus Ennius wrote these words about none other than himself, and that this was a portrait of Ennius' own nature and character'). On the passage in Ennius, see esp. Suerbaum (1968), 142–3 n. 455; Kofler (2003), 16–17; Hardie (2007). Stilo wrote a commentary on the *Carmen Saliare* (Festus 141) and probably also on the archaic legal language of the Twelve Tables.

⁵⁰ Gellius was probably drawing on Varro's *De poetis* (Norden (1915), 132)).

⁵¹ The transmitted *tenentem* and switch to accusative is problematic (Skutsch ad loc.). *Ann.* 303 Flores accepts Skutsch's tentative emendation of *tenens et*.

(knowing many things of old which antiquity has buried, and customs old and new, and the laws of many old gods and men)

Ennius' surrogate may understand new customs as well as old (*mores* . . . *nouos* (*Ann.* 283)), but he also characteristically preserves (*tenens* (*Ann.* 282)) ancient things buried by time. Moreover, in reception, Ennius' originally archaizing language would have seemed more archaic as time went on, and grammatical interest in the epic by those who were keen to practise their scholarship on a Roman equivalent to Homer meant that the poem was treated not just as a specimen of Hellenizing innovation but as a repository for native antiquity, for ancient things and ancient words buried by time. Varro used the *Annales* as a familiar source for old words in *De lingua latina* and for myths in *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*.⁵² The *Annales* became a central text in schools, where they could be used as a tool for teaching young Romans about old and native *mores*. In literature and oratory, Lucretius chose the deliberate old *grauitas* and school-learned familiarity of the style of the *Annales* for his hexameter poem,⁵³ while Cicero promoted Ennius' poem as an example of pre-degenerate Rome, adopting a number of markedly Ennian stylistic features in his own poetry.⁵⁴ Catullus and the Neoterics, seeking to define themselves as 'new', parodied Ennius' epic style, setting an example for judgements like those of Ovid and Propertius of Ennius as a primitive poet lacking in *ars* and composing 'shaggy' verses.⁵⁵ But at the same

⁵² For the latter, see Skutsch on *Ann.* 449 (Romulus' wall?). See also Prinzen (1998), 160, on the construction of Ennius in the Menippean satires as a representative of 'die gute Vergangenheit'.

⁵³ On Lucretius and Ennius, see Prinzen (1998), 132–48.

⁵⁴ Seneca felt Cicero's poetry to be insufferably 'Ennian', complaining that even in his prose writings, you might gather that he hadn't wasted his time when he read Ennius (*intellegas illum non perdidisse operam, quod Ennium legit* (apud Gell. 12.2.6)). Despite the orator's famous (if tendentious) defence of Ennius against the *cantores Euphorionis* at *Tusc.* 3.45, however, some influence of neoteric hexameter practice seems nevertheless to have crept into his poetry, even beyond the *Aratea* (Newman (1967a), 62 n. 1; Clausen (1986) (on the new poetics in the *Aratea*), but cf. objections raised by Knox (2011)); on Cicero as a poet 'half way between the old and the new', see Ewbank (1933), 2.

⁵⁵ On Catullus and Ennius, see Prinzen (1998), 201–3: examples of Ennian parody include the suppression of final -s at Cat. 116.8 (*dabi' supplicium*) and the alliterative *mentula magna minax* (Cat. 115.8), echoing *Ann.* 620, *machina multa minax minitatur maxima muris* cf. also the disapproval of the long-drawn-out *Annales* of Volusius (Cat. 36). For Catullus' use of alliteration as a means of programmatic self-differentiation from Ennius, see Grilli (1994), cf. also Thomas (1982b).

time, they did not in fact reject him, and even as they appropriated Ennius' original claims to novelty, they also strengthened his claims to antiquity, constructing the Ennian tradition as 'something "past", something to be "assumed as read" ... rewritten in a quite new mode, rather than simply thrown away'.⁵⁶

III. VATES, FAUNI, AND THE NEW 'ARCHAIC' POET

In a way, the proem to the third *Georgic* which announces the future epic that will replace Ennius on the lips of men, shows Virgil, too, performing the same manoeuvre which Ennius had executed in the *Annales* when he lumped his predecessors together with Fauns and seers, and which Ovid and Propertius, too, would later perform in characterizing Ennius *hirsutus* as the obsolete primitive poet. The proem is positioned in the middle of the work, a particularly important *locus* for poetic self-fashioning in Latin literature in general and in Virgil in particular.⁵⁷ Imagining himself as a writer of a future epic, Virgil challenges Ennius on his own generic ground. Picking up the *recusatio* of *Eclogue* 6 (also a 'proem in the middle'), in which the poet gave up the idea of writing an epic on 'kings and battles' (*reges et proelia* (*Ecl.* 6.3)), he now rejects Callimachean and Neoteric themes as hackneyed (*G.* 3–8). A way to fame has to be found instead that is ultimately the way Ennius had already taken:

temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim
tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora.
primus ego in patriam mecum, modo uita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas.

G. 3.8–11

(A path must be tried by which I, too, may raise myself from the ground and fly victorious on the lips of men. I shall be the first, returning from the Aonian mountain, to draw down the Muses with me into my homeland, provided life remain.)

⁵⁶ Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004), 466.

⁵⁷ On the 'proem in the middle', see Conte (1992). For the middle of a work as a crucial *locus* in Latin literature, see also Kyriakidis and De Martino (2004), and for middles in Virgil as a site in which the poet maps out his poetic career, Thomas (2004).

Line 9, *uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*, pointedly quotes Ennius' own famous claim to fly alive on men's lips (*uolito uiuos per ora uirum*) in the epitaph he was thought to have written for himself.⁵⁸ The following lines appropriate Lucretius' praise of the poet as the perennial founder of epic in Rome: *primus ego in patriam mecum modo uita supersit | Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas* (G. 3.10–11) picks up Lucretius' *Ennius . . . noster . . . qui primus amoeno | detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam* ('our . . . Ennius . . . who first brought down from pleasant Helicon a crown of eternal leaves' (Lucr. 1.117–18)), outdoing Ennius by bringing not a crown of poetry from the home of the Muses, but the Muses themselves, thus usurping Ennius' claim to be the 'first' (*primus*) to import the Greek *Musae* home.⁵⁹ The whole metaphor in which the future poem is conceived, a triumph and temple, has been seen to suggest what was probably the close of Book 15 of the *Annales*, the triumph of Fulvius Nobilior, who had physically 'imported the Muses' from Greece and housed them in the *Aedes Herculis Musarum*.⁶⁰ Further, the historical and martial

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nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
faxit. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum.

Courtney *FLP* fr. 46

(Let no one adorn me with tears, or make a funeral with wailing. Why? I fly alive on the lips of men.)

Cicero quotes the epitaph three times in the extant works (*Tusc.* 1.34, 117; *Sen.* 73). Virgil's *per ora uirum* ('on the lips of men') can also been taken in the context to mean 'past the faces of men', but the Ennian echo is still clear: see Mynors (1990) ad loc.

⁵⁹ Cf. Mynors ad loc.: 'Virgil brings before our eyes in stages a grander form of this motif in which the reward is not a garland, however glorious, but the Muses themselves, who exchange Greek for Italian soil'. In a way, the claim Virgil makes to be 'first' to bring the Muses from Greece to Rome (quoting Ennius' own claim to do the same even as he does so) makes no sense, since, logically, Ennius, along with Fulvius, remain the ones who undoubtedly brought the Greek Muses to Italian soil before him. One explanation has been that the poet means *primus Mantuorum*, the first among the Mantuans (Virgil's *patria*). As Hinds correctly points out, though, that is not a sufficient explanation, since Virgil's claims are clearly much greater than that ((1998), 54–5). Virgil will be 'first' because the achievement of the *Aeneid* will erase (almost literally, as it turns out) the *Annales* and its Hellenizing claims from the narrative of literary history: in what is arguably a Bloomian move of misreading and revision, 'Roman literary-historical self-fashioning in the last centuries BCE . . . can be simultaneously an appropriation and a denial' (Hinds (1998), 55).

⁶⁰ Hardie (1986), 49 n. 39; Hinds (1998), 62–3. On the paradoxical incorporation of the old and native in the temple, including the shrine of the *Camenae*, see sect. II. For Ennius' own apparent comparison between poetry and monuments, cf. *Ann.* 404–5. The presence of the stage (G. 3.24–5) might also suggest Ennius' *praetexta Ambracia*, which he wrote in connection with the celebrations.

themes Virgil announces (G. 3.26–36, 46–8), traced back to 'the descendants of Assaracus' (*Assaraci proles* (G. 3.35)) and going up to the time of Octavian, will apparently complete and replace Ennius' epic, taking the narrative from the time of Homer beyond Ennius to the present day. *Assaraci proles* echoes Aeneas' genealogy at *Annales* 28–9 (*Assaraco natus Capys optimus isque pium ex se | Anchisen generat*, 'excellent Capys was the son of Assaracus, and he fathered pious Anchises'), itself virtually a verbatim translation of Aeneas' words to Achilles at *Iliad* 20.239.⁶¹ All this is presented in a way which yet flies its Callimachean colours.⁶² The future epic is presented as a replacement of Ennius. As Ennius had wanted his poem to be, it will again be newer, slicker, more Hellenizing, taking into account the greater achievements of the new age: Virgil, a true 'importer of the Greek Muse' is to make Ennius redundant, as Ennius had declared himself to have done with his immediate epic rivals. As Hinds puts it, the proem to the third *Georgic* 'does not so much proclaim a beginning for Virgil as proclaim the end of Ennius', consigning him to obsolete 'oldness'.⁶³

But around a century and a half after the *Annales* first appeared, the relationship to the idea of 'oldness' Ennius carried is far more complex than this. As the imagined poem in *Georgics* 3 had promised, the *Aeneid* does indeed bid to replace the *Annales* as the new poem that would supersede Ennius' epic in its own genre, both more Homeric and more Callimachean.⁶⁴ Yet for Virgil, part of the idea of being 'first' in the epic canon involves a declaration not only of the new poet's 'newness' (and Greekness), but of his 'oldness' and native-ness as well. If Ovid and Propertius used their aphoristic side-glances at 'shaggy' Ennius to define themselves as 'new', turning Ennius' own polemic against his 'primitive' precursors on his own head (though even with these authors the attitude towards Roman antiquity is

⁶¹ Cf. Thomas (1988) on G. 3.35–6 on the way in which, with Ascanius included, the genealogical line 'devolves upon the *gens Iulia*'.

⁶² For discussion that particularly emphasizes the Callimachean elements here despite the rejection of Callimachean themes, see Thomas (1988), *passim*. Hinds (1998), 54, points to the link between *deducam* (3.11) and *carmen deductum*, so that one reading of the line might be 'Virgil "brings down" the Muses "in a specifically Callimachean manner"'.
⁶³ Hinds (1998), 55.

⁶⁴ As Aeneas tells Venus with a metaliterary play on Ennius' title, it would take a long time to listen to 'the annals [*Annales*] of our labours' (*annalis nostrorum audire laborum* (*Aen.* 1.373)).

complex), part of Virgil's poetic self-fashioning involves using the idea of the primitive and the native to construct the figure of the new poet as in some way 'older' and more 'archaic' than his Roman precursors, endowed thereby with a special link with the remote Italian past and the beginning of Rome's history.

Georgics 3.1–48 together with *Eclogues* 6.1–12, where the poet tells how he was thwarted in his ambition to sing of *reges et proelia* ('kings and battles') and *tristia . . . bella* ('grim wars') by a very Callimachean Apollo (*Ecl.* 6.3–4),⁶⁵ stand as part of a series of 'proems in the middle' in each of Virgil's major works that chart the poet's implicitly written poetic career. In the declared ambition to write martial epic (*arma*) they each define that career implicitly or explicitly vis-à-vis Ennius' own martial epic, the *Annales*. At first renouncing in the *Eclogues* the notion of meeting Ennius on epic ground, *Georgics* 3 announces a much higher-flying ambition to replace Ennius as Rome's 'first' epic poet.⁶⁶ The epic pictured is, in a way, just another historical epic, going over some Ennian ground and filling in the latest gap in history (*ardentis . . . pugnas | Caesaris*, 'Caesar's fiery battles' (*G.* 3.46–7)). The final work turned out differently from the epic projected there, though. The *Aeneid*, while it incorporates Rome's future history, does not deal directly with recent history as promised. In some ways, the partial episodic précis of the *Annales* on Vulcan's shield is the *mise en abyme* of the epic that Virgil never wrote, going over Ennian ground and finishing with Caesar quite literally 'in the middle' (*in medio* (*Aen.* 8.675); cf. *in medio mihi Caesar erit*, 'I will have Caesar in the middle' (*G.* 3.16)).⁶⁷ Instead, part of the *Aeneid*'s strategy of being 'first' is to set its plot in largely pre-Ennian space and time. As I show in subsequent chapters, the poem's hero goes to the site of Rome 'first', before Rome ever existed, where he finds a pre-Romulean founder there who far precedes Ennius' foundation story; similarly, the martial part of the *Aeneid* does not deal with contemporary wars, but 'pre-writes' the *Annales* with a war, unheard of in Ennius, that takes place in ancient Latium

⁶⁵ *Cynthus aurem | uellit et admonuit*, 'the Cynthian plucked my ear and warned me'; cf. Callim. *Hymn* 2.105–13.

⁶⁶ Kraggerud (2003), 8–9; Kofler (2003), 67–8; and Nickbakht (2010), 50 (taking *primus* (*Aen.* 1.1) as operating *apo koinou* and initially taken with the poet implied in *cano*) detect a parallel claim for primacy in the *primus* (1.1) of the proem to *Aeneid* 1.

⁶⁷ On the shield as partial précis of the *Annales*, see esp. Hardie (1993), 105.

(*Latio antiquo* (*Aen.* 7.38)).⁶⁸ Essentially, Virgil sets up the *Aeneid* as the Ur-Epos, a Roman epic to replace the *Annales* that is in some ways 'older' than Ennius ever was. While Ennius in his proemial statements was keen to fashion himself as a 'new' poet in relation to his precursors, Virgil does so as a fundamentally 'archaic' poet.

A crucial engagement with Ennius in these terms comes to the fore in Virgil's self-construction in the delayed 'proem in the middle' in Book 7 of the *Aeneid*:

nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, aduena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae.
tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moueo.

Aen. 7.37–45

(Come now Erato: who were the kings, what were the circumstances, what was the state of affairs in ancient Latium when the stranger army first put its fleet into Ausonian shores—this I will unfold, and recall the beginnings of the first combat. You, you, goddess, remind the poet. I will tell of bristling wars; I will tell of battle-lines and kings driven to death in their courage, and the Tyrrhenian contingent, and all of Hesperia mustered in arms. A greater sequence of events opens before me; I now begin a greater work.)

The *Aeneid* evokes not only Homer's *Iliad* here, but Ennius' *Annales*.⁶⁹ At the heart of the *Aeneid* and announcing the grander martial part of the epic, the proem's place in Book 7, in particular, suggests a link with Ennius' major proemial attack, also in Book 7 and also pausing to take stock before the most taxing martial part of the epic in hand.⁷⁰ The subject matter announced, *reges*, 'kings' (37) and *bella*, 'wars' (41),

⁶⁸ Poetic precursors are embedded in the text as Ennius' own distant ancestor, Messapus, fights on the battlefield with his contingent singing the praise of their leader and marching 'in metre' (*ibant aequati numero regemque canebant* (7.698)): Malamud (1998); Casali (2006a).

⁶⁹ Cf. Nelis (2001), 268 n. 3, on the proem to *Annales* 7 as 'clearly also of considerable importance here'. For the evocation in Virgil's proem of the proem to Ennius' Punic books, see further Ch. 4, sect. IV.i.

⁷⁰ Whether Ennius' proem was delayed, too, is now impossible to tell. For the *Annales* themselves as the possible Roman source for the notion of the 'proem in the middle', see Conte (1992). On this reading, Book 7 falls in the middle of the *Annales*

suggests once again a reprise of *Eclogue* 6 and an implicit ambition to fulfil the promise of the proem to the third *Georgic* (esp. 3.26–36, 46–8) by replacing Ennius as Rome's Homer and the martial poet of the nation's wars.⁷¹ *sub arma coactam* | *Hesperiam* (43–4) notably employs Ennius' 'old' word for Italy.⁷² The verb *moueo* (set in motion, begin, narrate) is used by Ennius of his own martial epic subject matter at *Annales* 403, probably also part of a proem (to Book 16).⁷³ Before the *horrida bella*, however, a narrative largely realized only in Books 9–12, the poet will sing of a time in ancient Latium (38), when Aeneas' fleet first landed here. At line 41, the poet asks the Muse to impart to him as *uates* the memory of a time in this remote past.

What I want to focus on here is the striking self-naming by the poet as *uates*. In the proem to *Annales* 7, before he embarks on the key moment in Roman martial history, Ennius famously rejected the kind of versifying used by *uates* because of its native and primitive connotations:

scripsere alii rem
uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant
Ann. 206–7

(others have written on the topic in verses which once the Fauns and seers used to sing)

conceived as a unit of fifteen books, with the three books on the Punic Wars (7, 8, and 9) taken as a central block, framed at either side by a further six books (1–6 and 10–15): the *Annales* 7 proem would thus 'have remained a genuine proem in the middle if "the old Olympian racehorse" had in fact completely exhausted his forces, and not instead unexpectedly taken on new energy and the poetic second wind' (Conte (1992), 155) (Ennius is said to have introduced Book 16 at a later stage, possibly comparing himself to an aging racehorse at *Ann.* 522–3 with *Cic. Sen.* 14). For the reading of the *Annales* as a fifteen-book collection in antiquity, cf. Ch. 1 n. 62. Whether or not Virgil, too, read Ennius in this way, the fact that his proem falls, like Ennius', in Book 7, and, like his, pauses to take stock with a clear awareness of previous martial epic before the *horrida bella* ahead is clearly meant to be noticed.

⁷¹ 'Bristling' (*Aen.* 7.41) in epic also tends to carry Ennian associations (e.g., *Ann.* 384), which seems to suggest, as it has to commentators on the passage, something Ennian behind the phrase: Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.87; Fordyce (1977) ad loc.

⁷² For *Hesperia* as Ennius' word for Italy (the first instance in Latin), see *Ann.* 20, *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant* ('there is a place which mortals call "Hesperia"'), with Horsfall (2000) on *Aen.* 7.543 and Mayer (1986), 52–3.

⁷³ *quippe uetusta uirum non est satis bella moueri* = Festus 306 ('since it is not enough that the old wars of men be narrated'). *uetusta bella* refers to 'wars of the past as described in the preceding books of the *Annals*' (Skutsch on *Ann.* 403). For the verb, see Skutsch ad loc.; Austin (1971) on *Aen.* 1.262; Horsfall (2000) on *Aen.* 7.45.

In linking Naevius and Livius with the *Fauni* and *uates* of the past, chanting their *carmina* in a primitive metre before the arrival of real poems (Greek *poemata*) and a real poet (*poeta*) to sing them, Ennius consigned his precursors to the realm of pre-civilized verse. *Vates* also come up for criticism in another fragment of the *Annales* 'clearly disparaging' their prophetic powers.⁷⁴

For Augustan poets, though, Varro's interpretation of Ennius' passage preserved in *De lingua latina* took on a central importance:

'uersibus quo<s> olim Fauni [et] uatesque canebant':
... antiquos poetas uates appellabant a uersibus uiendis, ut <de> poematis cum scribam ostendam.

(Varro *Ling.* 7.36)⁷⁵

('in those verses which once the Fauns and *uates* used to sing':... They used to call the old poets *uates* from 'plaiting' [*uiere*] verses, as I shall show when I write *On poems*.)

The idea that *uates* functions as a synonym for *poeta* in *Annales* 207 may well be wrong, but it was an interpretation clearly important to

⁷⁴ *Ann.* 374, *satin uates uerant aetate in agunda?*: see Skutsch ad loc. The line from Ennius' *Telamo* likewise scorning *superstitiosi uates* is probably part of the citation context (Jocelyn, p. 399; Cf. Manuwald (2012), 241–2). For the generally negative connotations of *uates* in a republican context, cf. Gildenhard (2007), 87 with n. 88. Ennius' scorn of primitive *uates* also influences a proemial link between the *uates* and 'primitive' superstition by Lucretius in the prologue to *De rerum natura* when he sums up the dangers of his philosophical rivals:

tutemet a nobis iam quouis tempore uatum
terrilouis uictus dictis desciscere quaeres.

1.102–3

(You yourself, overcome at times by words of terror from the *uates*, will seek to abandon us.)

With Ennius clearly in mind in his proem (1.112–26), Lucretius here implicitly slides him into the category of the unreliable seers who are likely to entice his readers dangerously from the path of true philosophy, turning Ennius' criticism on his own head in a move that would be echoed differently by the remythologizing Virgil. For *uates* at *Lucr.* 1.102 encompassing the poet Ennius, see Kenney (1970), 378. For Ennius in Lucretius' prologue, see also S. J. Harrison (2002).

⁷⁵ Some emend *antiquos* to *antiqui*: Cf. Suerbaum (1968), 259 n. 737, with Gildenhard (2007), 88. Varro offered two etymologies for the word *uates*: *a uersibus uiendis*, from plaiting verses, and *a ui mentis*, from the forcible mental impulse associated with poetic inspiration (*Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 3.443; *Isid. Orig.* 8.7.3), thereby neatly combining *ars* with *ingenium*: Dahlmann (1948), 337–9; Hardie (1986), 20; Gildenhard (2007), 88.

Virgil.⁷⁶ According to Varro's etymology in the same passage, *Fauni*, who had come under similar criticism for primitivity and superstition, are gods associated with the earliest Latin poetry:

Fauni: dei Latinorum . . . hos uersibus quos uocant Saturnios in siluestribus locis traditum est solitos fari <futura, a> quo fando Faunos dictos.

(*'Fauni'*: Divinities of the Latins . . . Tradition has it that they were accustomed to speak [*fari*] the future in the so-called Saturnian verses in wooded spots, from which speaking they were called *Fauni*.)

In a thorough discussion of the idea of the *uates* in Augustan Rome, J. K. Newman showed how Augustan poets, beginning with Virgil and influenced by Varro's interpretation, reinvented the word *uates* from its scornful use in Ennius' *Annales* 7 proem and took it up as their own distinct title.⁷⁷ Newman argued that one of the reasons the title was revived and reinvented in Augustan Rome, even though it had been used programmatically as a word of vituperative dismissal by Ennius, was that 'the Augustan poets had to be pioneers if they wanted . . . to write a distinctively Roman poetry about Roman themes', since Ennius was fundamentally a 'Hellenistic poet', and it was to this aspect of the epic that they reacted.⁷⁸ But Virgil's *uates*-idea should be seen as a direct reaction not so much to Ennius' excessive 'Greekness', as to his by then authoritative 'oldness', embodied precisely in 'Roman poetry about distinctly Roman themes'. Varro's authoritative reading, or misreading, enabled Virgil to turn Ennius' self-fashioning on its head. It is not so much Ennius who is constructed as 'archaic' but the Virgilian persona, reaching further back in time from the Ennian *poeta* to the pre-Ennian *uates*. In a moment that parallels Ennius' famous *Annales* 7 proem, Virgil takes on the rejected *uates* title, now endowed with the authority of an ancient priest, poet, and prophet combined. The letter of Ennius' dismissal of Naevius is specifically perverted,⁷⁹ but the result is not

⁷⁶ Dahlmann (1948). Cf. however Skutsch, p. 372: '[Varro] would not have misunderstood but merely have been imprecise: the ancient *uates* combined the functions of prophet and poet'.

⁷⁷ Newman (1967a) incorporated with minor changes in Newman (1967b), 99–206 (see also more recently Newman and Newman (2005), 306–28). On the Virgilian *uates*, see also Dahlmann (1948); Hardie (1986) 16–22, 38, 57, 59; Gildenhard (2007), 87–92; and, more generally, Winkler (1987); O'Hara (1990), 176–84.

⁷⁸ Newman (1967b), 16; for Newman's ideas of 'the Ennian tradition' of the poet 'as a Hellenistic Poet', see his ch. 3, (1967b), 61–98.

⁷⁹ Cf. Hinds (1998), 74.

that Ennius is made 'archaic', rather than the archaic associations of the pre-Ennian title are taken on for the new poem.⁸⁰

Virgil's self-fashioning is refracted on a metaliterary level within the text, too. Primeval poet figures or proto-poets called *uates* who often stand as surrogates for the author crop up again and again in Virgil's oeuvre.⁸¹ The prophetic Silenus, though not called *uates*, like the poet or Aeneas in his guise as narrator, fascinates his audience with his stories in *Eclogue* 6 as *Fauni* dance in metre (*in numerum* (6.27)) to his *carmina*.⁸² In *Eclogue* 9, the poet-shepherd Lycidas claims (in his own moment of authorial self-fashioning) that he is known for his poetic endeavours among the shepherds as *uates*.⁸³ The shape-shifter Proteus, *uates* | *caeruleus* ('blue-green *uates*' (G. 4.387–8)), is the internal narrator in *Georgics* 4, able to communicate knowledge of past, present, and future, like the Virgilian poet telling 'Roman history in the future tense': 'for the *uates* knows everything: what is, what has been, and what is yet to happen' (*nouit namque omnia uates* | *quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox uentura trahantur* (G. 4.392–3)). In the *Aeneid*, the most obvious poet-*uates* is the mythical Greek poet Musaeus, singled out by the Sibyl (herself a prominent *uates*-figure) as *optime uates* (6.669) when he is seen towering sublime, head and shoulders above a throng of admiring souls (*umeris exstantem . . . altis* (6.668)), among them the famous Orpheus.⁸⁴ Musaeus ('man of the Muses') prominently represents as an internal *uates* the Greek allegiances of the *Aeneid*,⁸⁵ but he has a less discussed analogue in the nymph Carmentis, behind whom, already in the first century BC, a blurred and complex mythical tradition stood.⁸⁶ In the *Aeneid*, even though her appearance, like that of Musaeus, is brief, Carmentis stands as one of

⁸⁰ Cf. Gildenhard (2007), 87–92, on the 'return of the *uates*' and its socio-political implications for the poet's self-positioning.

⁸¹ Cf. Gildenhard (2007), 89; Winkler (1987). For authorial surrogacy in Virgil and other ancient literature, see esp. D. P. Fowler (2000b), 29–30; Hardie (1993); Kofler (2003).

⁸² *Fauni* and *uates* are intimately linked: see Bettini (2008) on the ways in which the verb *fari* (whence *Faunus*/*Fauni* are etymologized in antiquity) denotes a particularly authoritative, divinely originated kind of speech.

⁸³ *Ecl.* 9.34, where *uates* is unequivocally a rural synonym for *poeta*.

⁸⁴ Winkler (1987). On the Sibyl as *uates*, see Winkler (1987), 657–8; Gildenhard (2007), 89.

⁸⁵ Winkler (1987), 656.

⁸⁶ For Musaeus as 'the personification of an ideal to which Virgil himself aspires', see Winkler (1987), 659. Habinek identifies Carmentis as 'the quintessential *uates*', fundamentally linked with the world of Roman song ((2005), 229).

the most significant *uates* who figure the poet in the text.⁸⁷ We learn about her on Aeneas' visit to the pre-Ennian site of future Rome (*Aen.* 8.333–41). She is a 'fate-telling *uates*' (*uates fatidica* (8.340)),⁸⁸ in touch with Apollo, 'the god of the Roman *vates*'.⁸⁹ Like Virgil in the literary-historical narrative the *Aeneid* hopes implicitly to inscribe, she is the 'first' (*prima* (8.340)) to tell of the descendants of Aeneas and future Rome:

cecinit . . . prima futuros
Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum
Aen. 8.340–1

(she was the first to sing of the great descendants of Aeneas to come and renowned Pallanteum)

prima compares with the poet's emphasis on his own primacy (*primus ego . . . primus* (G. 3.10, 12)) and implicitly with his hero 'who first came to Italy' in the programmatic opening of the *Aeneid* (*qui primus . . . Italiam . . . uenit* (*Aen.* 1.1–2)).⁹⁰ If what is revealed to the poet as *uates* is quintessentially 'l'età primordiale, il tempo originario',⁹¹ Carmentis' mythical traditions mean that she has the benefits of just such association with primeval Rome, while at the same time maintaining origins in literary Greece.⁹² As a goddess identified with Evander's mother (a tradition which Virgil employs), Carmentis hails from the Greek landscape of Arcadia. But she has inspired the first settlement on the site of future Rome (according to Eratosthenes,

⁸⁷ Ovid would later call upon her for inspiration in the *Fasti* in a passage that interacts with the Virgilian narrative (*Fast.* 1.467–8).

⁸⁸ Cf. Manto, the mother of the founder of Virgil's home town of Mantua, who is also *fatidica* (*Aen.* 10.199).

⁸⁹ Newman (1967a), 10.

⁹⁰ Kraggerud (2003), 8–9; Kofler (2003), 67–8; and Nickbakht (2010), 50, on *primus* in *Aen.* 1.1; cf. Häußler (1976), 303–4. *futuros* | *Aeneadas magnos* echoes across the book with the metapoetic subject matter on the shield of Vulcan, another authorial surrogate (*genus omne futurae* | *stirpis ab Ascanio* (*Aen.* 8.628–9)).

⁹¹ Massenzio (1990), 457, after Vernant.

⁹² In this sense it is Carmentis as *uates* and not the Sibyl who should be seen as 'the ur-mother of them all . . . hold[ing] . . . the key of access to Roman history' (Gildenhard (2007), 88). In an etymology of which Virgil may have been aware, the Servian commentary notes that Carmentis' name is related to an even older version of the *uates*: since *uates* themselves used to be called *carmentes* in antiquity (*Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 8.336). Cf. Bailey on the Virgilian persona: 'He seems to know and to recognize a stratum . . . before even the coming of Saturn, to which belong the Nymphs and Fauns, and the wilder spirit of the woods' (Bailey (1935), 34).

she had also dwelt on the site⁹³), where she is commemorated in the ancient honour (*priscum . . . honorem*) of the *Porta Carmentalis* (*Aen.* 8.337–9). *Carmen-tis*, too, suggests the earliest Roman song.⁹⁴ Not only a *uates*, her name means 'full of *carmen*',⁹⁵ and in the *Aeneid* she, like the poet, quintessentially sings: *cecinit* (*Aen.* 8.340; *arma uirum-que cano* (*Aen.* 1.1)), suggesting not just prophecy but the kind of song which Ennius rejected: Ennius emphatically does not sing (*uoribus quos olim Faunei uatesque caneabant*) and writes Greek *poemata* (*Ann.* 12) as opposed to native *carmen*, 'to Ennius inseparably linked with the earlier phase of poetry'.⁹⁶ Moreover, in the depths of pre-Roman time, partly by etymological inferences (*Carmenta*, *Ca(s)mena*), as a water nymph (*nympha* (*Aen.* 8.336, 339)), she is traditionally one of the water deities of the spring outside the *Porta Capena* who were picked out as the patronesses of early Roman poetry programmatically rejected by Ennius at the opening of the *Annales*, the *Camenae*.⁹⁷ The first *uates* to sing of the future history of Rome (*Aen.* 8.340–1), then, *Carmentis* pointedly evokes the kind of primeval native poetry Ennius had rejected. Like the *Fauni* who have also haunted the pre-Roman landscape in which she has left her trace (*Aen.* 8.314), she is an incarnation of the very terms of Ennius' rejection of native antiquity.⁹⁸ In a book that, as I shall argue in Chapter 3, is centrally concerned to 'pre-write' Ennius by reaching Rome in pre-Ennian time, and a passage, Evander's prehistory of Latium, that is particularly concerned with the primeval, the *Aeneid*

⁹³ Wiseman (2004), 28.

⁹⁴ On *Carmentis* from *carmen*, see esp. Varro *Ling.* 7.27; Ov. *Fast.* 1.467 ([*Carmentis*] *nomen habes a carmine ductum*); Maltby (1991) s.v. *Carmenta*.

⁹⁵ Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v. *carmen*.

⁹⁶ Skutsch, p. 168, on *Ann.* 12 (*poemata*), pointing out that *carmen* may also have suggested to Ennius and his first readers the title of Naevius' *Carmen Belli Punici*. On *cano* as a deliberate perversion of Ennius' proem, cf. Gildenhard (2007), 87.

⁹⁷ Massenzio (1990), 457, points out the link between water, prophecy, and originary time.

⁹⁸ The related god Faunus, one of Horace's favourite gods, too, is an important presence in the landscape of Italy: his incubation oracle in Albunea is visited by Latinus at *Aen.* 7.81–106, and a wild olive sacred to him plays an important part in the action, to Aeneas' detriment, in *Aeneid* 12 (766–83). Coming at the climactic martial moment of the *Aeneid*, the clearing of the ancient Italian tree sacred to Faunus for the chariots to be ridden 'on a clear plain' (*puro . . . campo* (12.771)), acts in part as a metapoetic object lesson on Ennius' denial of native Italian *Fauni*. On *Fauni* and Faunus in Virgil cf. also Gildenhard (2007), 87 n. 88, with Dahlmann (1948), 349.

takes the opportunity to insert this authorial cameo in the text in early Italy, echoing the *uates*-claim in the proem to *Aeneid* 7 in overturning Ennius' dismissal of primitive poetics, and claiming the title of 'archaic' poet for Virgil himself.

IV. ARCHAIC LANGUAGES

The claim to Roman antiquity which Virgil makes in his poetic self-fashioning is borne out in important ways on a stylistic level, too. Whereas Ennian features of style and language—above all archaic language—are rare in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, which display comparatively very few archaic words, the *Aeneid* deliberately seeks to include the old within the new poem.⁹⁹ Such features, particularly when they come from Ennius, are traditionally seen as a means of adding 'archaic flavour' that adds a touch of 'archaic dignity' to the poem.¹⁰⁰ The tradition has roots in Quintilian, for whom the 'judicious' use of the archaic becomes central to the post-Virgilian idea of the classic. For Quintilian, Virgil was the unique example of an author who deployed archaic words with perfect taste in order to give his work the *grauitas* of the antique:

cum sint autem uerba propria ficta tralata, propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas. namque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerit usus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est usus. 'olli' enim et 'quianam' et 'moerus' et 'pone' et 'porricere' adspargunt illam, quae etiam in picturis est grauissima, uetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem. (*Inst.* 8.3.24–5)

(Words are either proper, newly-coined or metaphorical. In the case of proper words, antiquity confers dignity, because words which not everyone would use make style more venerable and worthy of admiration. Virgil, in his perfect judgement, uniquely employed this from of ornament. *olli* and *quianam* and *moerus* and *pone* and *porricere* produce a sprinkling of the authority of antiquity which is very impressive in pictures as well, and which no art can reproduce.)

⁹⁹ Bettini (1984), 288; Wotke (1886) 132.

¹⁰⁰ On archaic language in the *Aeneid*, see esp. Wotke (1886); Steele (1894); Cordier (1939), 3–87; Bettini (1984); and generally Lunelli (1980) *s.v.* 'arcaismi'.

Archaic language gives the new work the patina of antiquity that can have *dignitas* and authority, and makes what it touches more venerable (*sanctiorem*) and worthier of admiration (*magis admirabilem*).¹⁰¹ As Gellius was to put it in the so-called archaizing period, it gains the 'flavour and antiquity that is so venerable' (*color... uetustatis... tam reuerendus*).¹⁰²

Other ancient readers at different times, whether in approval or disapproval, were sensitive to the *Aeneid's* deliberate archaisms. The Servian commentary notes a number of them.¹⁰³ Gellius praises them, while Seneca the Elder was scornfully alert to them:

Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duos quosdam uersus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus agnosceret in nouo carmine aliquid antiquitatis. (Seneca apud Gell. 12.2.10)

(Our Virgil, too, admitted certain verses which are harsh, irregular, and somewhat beyond the proper measure with no other motive than that a community devoted to Ennius might recognize something of antiquity in the new poem.)

Seneca was writing about metre, the monosyllabic line endings and hypermetric lines that reminded him of the primitive practice of the first hexameter poem in Latin, but his comment is perhaps truer of diction. As Seneca puts it, archaisms added for Virgil's readers 'something of antiquity in the new poem': *in nouo carmine aliquid antiquitatis*. Though Seneca didn't like the attitude of Virgil's contemporaries, the use of the self-consciously archaic could function for the *Aeneid's* audience just as it had for Republican epic: not merely as a touch of 'archaic flavour', but as an implicit 'claim to the Roman past'.¹⁰⁴ Varro saw old language as part of a Roman's connection to the far-flung

¹⁰¹ Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.88 on the recommended attitude towards Ennius, to be revered like a sacred grove full of antique trees: *Ennium sicut sacros uetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora... habent religionem*, 'We should revere Ennius like groves whose age has made them sacred, and whose huge and ancient trunks inspire us with religious awe.' For similar views about archaic language investing a new work with the patina of antiquity (ὁ ἀρχαῖος πῖνος), see Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 39 with Porter (2006), 325 and 326–33, on archaism (*sed utendum modo*, as Quintilian goes on to prescribe (*Inst.* 8.3.25)) as integral to the texture of classical works.

¹⁰² Gell. 12.4.3. On the phrase *color uetustatis*, see Porter (2006), 325 with n. 62.

¹⁰³ Steele (1894). ¹⁰⁴ Habinek (1998), 48, quoted earlier.

ancestral past, claiming that archaic words can take us by inheritance (*hereditate*) all the way back to Romulean Rome.¹⁰⁵ It is partly for this reason that writers like Cato or Cicero, in works such as *De senectute* and in his own later poetry (in one way or another following the triad of archaic Roman epic poets), use archaic words to further an implicit ideological agenda that espouses the value of the past.¹⁰⁶

This attitude towards archaic language and belief in its capacity to connect back to the Roman past informs the deployment of archaic diction in Augustan poetry, too, in particular in Horace and Virgil. In *Epistles* 2.2, Horace, an established user of archaic words in his own poetry,¹⁰⁷ instructs aspiring writers how to combine the virtues of new poetry with the strength of tradition endowed by the vocabulary of our ancestors:

obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
proferet in lucem speciosa uocabula rerum,
quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
nunc situs informis premit et deserta uetustas . . .
uehemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
fundet opes Latiumque beabit diuite lingua;
luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano
leuabit cultu, uirtute carentia tollet.

Epist. 2.2.115–18, 120–3

(A good poet will unearth attractive words long buried in darkness and bring them to light for the people's use, words which, though they were once spoken by ancient Catos and Cetheguses, are now repressed by unseemly disuse and neglected age . . . strong and clear, just like a pure stream, he will pour forth his wealth and bless Latium with rich language; he will check rank growth and smooth what is too rough with his wholesome cultivation, and remove what lacks virtue.)

For Horace, the new poet will enrich Latium with his Callimachean 'pure stream' (*puro . . . amni* (*Epist.* 2.2.120)), not just by writing polished poetry as Catullus did in his emphatically new booklet

¹⁰⁵ *Ling.* 5.9. Though he uses them as a source for archaisms elsewhere, in his self-positioning as authoritative antiquarian in this passage, Varro presents Ennius and Livius as distracting neologizers.

¹⁰⁶ For Cicero's archaisms, cf. Ewbank (1933), esp. 8–9; Prinzen (1998), 170 with n. 24; on prose, esp. *De legibus*, see Untermann (1988), 429–3. For Cato, see Habinek (1998), 48.

¹⁰⁷ For Horace's archaism, see Muecke (1997), esp. 773–5, and Bartalucci (1997).

(*nouus libellus* (Cat. 1.1)), but by deliberately seeking out antique words associated with the old Roman virtues of Cato or Cethegus and incorporating them within his poetics of polish.¹⁰⁸ The judicious use of such language contributes to the poet's quasi-moral task: curbing *luxuria* (124), introducing *sanitas* (124), and weeding out lack of *uirtus* (125). Even in Horace's (heavily ironized) verse letter to Augustus, *Epistles* 2.1, which notoriously depicts Rome in the grip of an exaggerated 'craze for the archaic' and ostensibly rejects the old poets and their antique language that reminds Horace of the 'stuffy' Twelve Tables and *Annales Maximi* (24–7), he ends with praise of Virgil, who, *utilis urbi* (124), will sing with Varius in his stead of the wars won throughout the world under Augustus' auspices, *totum confecta duella per orbem* (254), where the programmatic martial epic subject matter *duella* (for *bella*) is both a deliberate archaism and an obvious Ennianism.¹⁰⁹

In terms of the *Aeneid*'s diction, while archaisms are not frequent, they are notable and obviously meant to be noticed.¹¹⁰ The poem is scattered with examples: the demonstrative pronoun in the stem *oll-* (which appears twenty-three times in the *Aeneid*),¹¹¹ the passive infinitive ending *-ier* (*Aen.* 4.493; 7.70; 8.493; 9.231; 11.242; G. 1.454 (part of an allusion to Lucretius)),¹¹² the disyllabic genitive singular of the first declension ending *-ai* (*Aen.* 3.354; 6.747; 7.464; 9.26), *fuat* for *sit* (*Aen.* 10.108), *ast* (eighteen times in the *Aeneid*),¹¹³ *infit* (*Aen.* 5.708; 10.101, 860; 11.242, 301; 12.10¹¹⁴), *includus* (*Aen.* 2.82, 241;

¹⁰⁸ For Cethegus 'the choicest flower of the people', see *Ann.* 304–8 (a passage that is already archaizing despite referring to an episode in recent memory) and cf. Goldberg (1995), 94–5, and Gildenhard (2003), 98–100. For Horace, it is also the poet's duty to combine old and new by taking up new words: *Epist.* 2.2.119; *Ars P.* 46–69.

¹⁰⁹ For Horace's reference to Ennius here, see Clausen (1971), 71–2. *duellum* is one of the archaisms Horace himself uses (including *Carm.* 4.15.8, also in connection with the Augustus' martial achievements): Brink (1982), on *Epist.* 2.1.254.

¹¹⁰ 'non frequenti ma ben marcati' (Görler (1985), 262).

¹¹¹ *olli*, particularly at the beginning of a line, seems specifically to evoke the *Annales* when used by Virgil (Bettini (1984), 290).

¹¹² All but 8.493 in the fifth foot.

¹¹³ Cf. *Ann.* 93 with Skutsch ad loc. As equivalent of *at*, the form does not appear in Lucretius and seems to have been pioneered by Ennius.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *infit* at *Ann.* 385, with Skutsch ad loc.

6.479, 562, 781; 12.179),¹¹⁵ *quianam* for *cur* (*Aen.* 5.13; 10.6),¹¹⁶ and *moerus* for *murus*.¹¹⁷

As Seneca scoffed, Virgil was writing, in one way or another, for an 'Ennian' audience, who were, reluctantly or not, familiar with Ennius' *Annales* from early education. This means that old words often mean 'Ennian' words in the *Aeneid* (or 'Ennio-Lucretian'). Because we do not have the full text of the *Annales*, however, it is not always possible to say whether passages of direct allusion lie behind a particular Ennian archaism. From what we know, this is sometimes the case (the pronoun in the stem *oll-*, for example, is frequently linked with Ennian allusion), but surprisingly, it is not always so. As Cordier shows, in most of the longer surviving imitated passages, Ennius' archaisms are in fact often avoided.¹¹⁸ Taken as a whole, therefore, the sense is of a texture of antiquity that appropriates (even as it quotes, or does not quote) Ennius' 'oldness'. In part, the inclusion of archaic and obscure language is something a 'Hellenistic' poet would seek to achieve, too, and part of the function of Virgil's verbal archaeology is to assert his own Hellenistic novelty vis-à-vis his dated rival, thus furthering the *Aeneid*'s claim to the 'new'. But the 'old' in Roman culture has a different sort of significance and including 'archaic' words in Latin poetry, and in the Latin poetry of Augustan Rome in particular, carries different sorts of connotations.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Cf. *inclutus* at *Ann.* 123, 146. Skutsch on 146 points out that '[t]he adjective must have had an archaic and therefore solemn ring even in the beginning of Latin literature'.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Ann.* 121; Naevius (18 Str. = 16 *FPL*). In a practice of which Quintilian approved (*Inst.* 8.3.25), the most glaring archaisms are avoided (notably *so-* pronouns and the preposition *indu*): see Bettini (1984), who notes an apparent evening-out of the chronology of the archaisms used in the *Aeneid*, though this is also explicable as part of a wider phenomenon identified by Untermann (1988), 445, in which Classical authors use a relatively fixed repertoire of particular archaisms.

¹¹⁷ Appears as a variant at *Aen.* 10.24, 144; 11.382. Though contestable (cf. Horsfall (2003) on 11.382), the usage was known to Quintilian and Servius and should probably be retained: see S. J. Harrison (1991a) on *Aen.* 10.24. Lunelli (1980), 93. Cf. *Ann.* 418.

¹¹⁸ Cordier (1939), 51–2.

¹¹⁹ As James Porter neatly puts it, in his use archaism, Virgil 'was given to inventing himself... not as classical, but as *antique*' (Porter (2006), 17 n. 52). Cf. Hardie (1986), 16: 'An interest on the part of the poets in scholarly antiquarianism, in itself a sign of an adherence to the Callimachean view of the qualifications of the poet, leads to the romantic reconstruction of an imagined ideal of the poet in the remote past, which largely subverts the Alexandrian pose'. As well as archaic diction, other elements that mark out the *Aeneid* as self-consciously 'primitive' are monosyllabic line

Comparing Ennius' epic with Naevius', Cicero in the *Brutus* praises it for its highly polished quality.¹²⁰ This is, as critics have pointed out, ironic because it is precisely on these grounds, *arte carens* ('lacking skill' (Ovid *Am.* 1.15.19)), that shaggy Ennius is damned by Ovid and others. In some ways, Virgil, too colludes in this construction, trumpeting his own newness and Greekness by showing up Ennius' crude work.¹²¹ In a famous apocryphal anecdote, when someone happens upon the new poet reading Ennius' epic, he tells them: 'I am searching for gold in the dung' (*aurum in stercore quaero*).¹²² The idea that Virgil was looking for gold in Ennius' *stercore* evinces a similar way of thinking about the poet of the *Annales* as obsolete and passé: Virgil was concerned to 'polish up' Ennius' rough primitive handiwork, picking out the *ingenium* while adding the lacking *ars*. But though Catullus might violently dismiss the 'shitty sheets' (*cacata charta* (36.1)) of Volusius' *Annales* outright in similarly scatological terms because they do not conform to Neoteric poetics, in the *Aeneid*'s language and in his poetic self-fashioning, Virgil does not renounce the 'archaic' past he anecdotally scorned, inventing himself as a new, polished poet, but also one who is fundamentally archaic.

V. CONCLUSION

There is a thoroughgoing project detectable in the *Aeneid* to construct itself as 'archaic', endowed with a new, more urbane, antiquity.

endings (Görler (1985), 275) and the hypermetric hexameters that Seneca abhorred (Sen. apud Gell. 12.2.10).

¹²⁰ 76.1–8: Ennius writes *polite* ('in a polished manner') and is *perfectior* ('more perfect'). Cf. Macrobius' similar observation that Virgil wrote with 'more refined charm' (*gratia elegantiore* (*Sat.* 6.3.4)) than Ennius.

¹²¹ The classic test-case for such 'classicizing' of the rough Ennian past is the tree-felling passage at *Aen.* 6.176–82 (and to a lesser extent 11.135–8), which, drawing on *Il.* 23.114–20, self-consciously reworks *Ann.* 175–9 with polished restraint. The passages are discussed in a well-known study by Gordon Williams (Williams (1968), 263–5), who places them within precisely the developmental narrative of literary history that Virgil intended ('the history of Roman poetry is epitomized in the confrontation . . . of these passages' (267)): see esp. Hinds (1998), 10–14, for a masterly metaliterary reading of the self-conscious authorial self-positioning in the passage.

¹²² Cassiod. *Inst.* 1.1.8, probably the source of the interpolated passage in Donatus' *Vita* (p. 31 Brummer); Skutsch, pp. 13–14; Wilson-Okamura (2010), 122–3.

As such the epic picks up an unspoken tradition of epic succession in Livius, Naevius, and Ennius—though the latter masks this in his poetic self-fashioning—of aiming to connect back to the Roman past. Language, especially archaic language, can be a carrier of cultural memory, too, and the narrative of Rome's earliest past, while drawing its origins in Homer's Troy, can act as an implicit claim to Roman antiquity. Telling the story of Rome's beginnings in the *Aeneid*, Virgil, in his judicious use of archaism and in his self-fashioning as *uates*, archly takes on the positive connotations of the 'shaggy crown' that Ennius would probably have claimed never to have wanted. One of the things this allows Virgil's new epic to do is to reverse the problem of belatedness in literary succession. In a Bloomian dynamic, claiming primacy despite being chronologically 'second', the epic implicitly suggests that it is older than Ennius', the 'first' Ur-Epos of Rome. At the same time, the poem's self-positioning as 'old' also allows it to stake an implicit claim to be the authoritative voice of Roman memory. As I explore further in the following chapters, the appropriation of the cultural memory of Rome in a number of other spheres, from landscape to exemplary narratives, fundamentally governs the dynamics of the *Aeneid*'s interaction with Ennius' *Annales*.

Sites of Rome

I. INTRODUCTION

In a highly influential study which began publication in France in the 1980s, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, the French cultural historian Pierre Nora identified a crucial way in which the collective remembrance of the past functions.¹ Focusing on modern France, Nora argued that a fundamental break in the sense of historical continuity in contemporary French society meant that instead of a grand narrative of history embedded in French consciousness, collective memory now ‘crystallizes and secretes itself’ fundamentally in ‘sites of memory’ (*lieux de mémoire*). The term designates ‘any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which . . . has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community’.² Geographical locations and monuments, and, at a more abstract level, the tricolour flag or a widely read school book like *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants*, have now become the *loci* which are fundamental to the ways in which the community remembers its past.³ While Nora insisted exclusively on the specific localization of

¹ Nora (1984–92). Two English versions (Nora, Kritzman, and Goldhammer (1996–8) and Nora, Jordan, and Touille (2001–10)), both produced in collaboration with Nora, recast and select from the 127 articles of the original project. Cf. also Nora (1989).

² Nora, Kritzman, and Goldhammer (1996–8), i, p. xvii.

³ Nora’s study deals with still more abstract ‘sites’, moving from concrete physical monuments, landscape, and commemorative events to the notion of the café. For a critique of Nora’s selective choices within the political context of the work’s publication, see Schwarz (2010), 33 n. 3. On the problems of translation of *lieu* into English (‘sites’ or ‘places’ are perhaps misleadingly spatial, while ‘realms’ dilutes some of the emphasis on soil and territory), see Wood (1999).

the phenomenon of *lieux de mémoire* within a particular historical moment in modern France, his ideas have been persuasively shown to have a much wider currency in the study of other cultures and other periods.⁴ Moreover, it is not only within modern ‘shattered identities’⁵ that *lieux de mémoire* function. As has now become clear—though far from the post-industrial culture torn from a sense of history with which Nora was exclusively concerned—the ancient world, in its collective memorialization of the past, could function in similar ways: above all when it came to physical ‘sites of memory’ such as landscape and memorials, societies in Greek and Roman antiquity linked place, history, and memory in precisely the kinds of crystallized localizations Nora identified. The concept of *lieux de mémoire* and related ideas have, therefore, been crucially illuminating to the discussion of place memory in the ancient world in recent decades.⁶ In this, perhaps the most fruitful ground for exploration is Rome: the city of memory par excellence. Loaded with ‘sites of memory’, Rome’s landscape and cityscape—from the Tiber to the Palatine, from the Lupercal to the *Lacus Curtius*—were fundamentally bound up with the memories of the city’s past.⁷

If places can be read figuratively as the “‘texts” of cultural memory’,⁸ their sites the signs to be interpreted in a semiotics of memory, in literate societies, those ‘texts’ are partly intertwined in collective memory with the texts of the writers who tell their stories. The city of Rome was fundamentally a ‘written’ city, and woven into the city’s ‘tapestry of memory’ were its texts.⁹ In the memorial heritage of Rome, memories in and of the city were not just crystallized in its monuments and sites but in the commemoration of those

⁴ The concept has been applied, e.g., to modern Germany (Schulze and François (2000–1)), Italy (Isnenghi (1996–7)), and America (Hebel (2003)).

⁵ Nora, Kritzman, and Goldhammer (1996–8) i, p. xxiii.

⁶ Edwards (1996); Alcock (2002); Walter (2004); Gowing (2005); Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp (2006); Haake and Jung (2011).

⁷ On Roman sites of memory, see esp. Edwards (1996); Walter (2004), ch. 5; Gowing (2005), ch. 5; Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp (2006) (a collection which also deals with more abstract *Erinnerungsorte* in Roman culture); Gallia (2012), esp. ch. 2.

⁸ “‘Texte” des kulturellen Gedächtnisses”: J. Assmann (1992), 60.

⁹ The phrase is from Gowing (2005), 132. On Rome as a fundamentally written city, see esp. Edwards (1996). On the ways in which ‘[p]laces are intertextual sites’, cf. Barnes and Duncan (1992), 6–7. On the idea of ‘reading’ places intertextually, cf. Huyssen (2003).

sites by its writers.¹⁰ In his famous dedication to Varro in the *Academica*, Cicero exclaims,

nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. (Cic. *Acad.* 1.9)

(For in our own city we were like strangers wondering and drifting, but your books as it were led us home, so that at last we might recognize who and where we were.)

Roman collective memory and identity are fundamentally linked with the *lieux de mémoire* of the capital's cityscape. It is essentially literature which, by handing down the memories of Rome's past and the meanings of its monuments, 'brings us home' and facilitates that memory. In *Writing Rome*, Catharine Edwards identifies Virgil and Livy as the two main authors whose writing fulfilled this function:

as these works acquired a central role in the educational curriculum, responses to . . . the city would in turn have been informed by Virgilian and Livian views of Roman history.¹¹

When Virgil was writing the *Aeneid* and Livy *Ab urbe condita*, however, Ennius' *Annales* had already long acquired a central role in the educational curriculum. Like Virgil's, Ennius' poem was an epic written for Rome that bound together place and history in staking its claim in Rome's cultural memory.

A fundamental aspect of the competition between the *Aeneid* and the *Annales*, therefore, involves control over the poems' claim to Roman *lieux de mémoire*. While the later books of the *Annales* ranged through other parts of Italy and far beyond it, Rome and its 'sites of memory' were particularly Ennian territory. When Virgil was writing the *Aeneid*, Ennius' epic had long established its position as the 'first' epic to tell these stories.¹² As the *Aeneid* approaches the shores of Italy (*litoribus nostris* (7.1)), therefore, the challenge posed by its predecessor becomes particularly pressing. This chapter considers the *Aeneid*'s interaction with its Ennian precursor in linking together

¹⁰ Cf. Edwards (1996); Jaeger (1997); Gowing (2005), esp. ch. 5 'Remembering Rome', 132–59.

¹¹ Edwards (1996), 30.

¹² An alternative title for Ennius' poem that seems to have been known in antiquity (though probably not original: Leo (1913), 163 n. 1) was the *Romais*, the poem of Rome: Diom. 1.484 Keil (*Romanis*, corr. Reifferscheid); Skutsch, pp. 7, 46.

place and history, specifically in and around the site of future Rome. One of the ways in which the *Aeneid* deals with its belated position as the new Roman epic, I argue, is to perform an archaeology of memory that returns to the deep past and implicitly places the *Aeneid* 'first' on Roman soil. Arriving on the coast of Latium in primeval time, part of the poem's strategy is almost to recolonize the Italian landscape, writing, at a time set 'first', a narrative that arrogates to itself the powerful associations that the sites of Rome can carry.

II. PLACE AND THE *ANNALES*

One of the longest surviving fragments of the *Annales* already lays claim to the sites of Rome as *lieux de mémoire*. In Book 1, Ennius gave a dramatic account of the first moment of Rome's foundation. Each in an elevated position on one of the hills of Rome, Romulus and Remus look out for auspices that will tell them their fate and that of the future city:¹³

curantes magna cum cura tum cupientes
regni dant operam simul auspicio augurioque.
in †monte Remus auspicio sedet atque secundam
solus auem seruat. at Romulus pulcher in alto
quaerit Auentino, seruat genus altiuolantum.
certabant urbem Romam Remoramne uocarent.
omnibus cura uiris uter esset induperator.
expectant ueluti consul quom mittere signum
uolt, omnes auidi spectant ad carceris oras
quam mox emittat pictos e faucibus currus:
sic expectabat populus atque ore timebat
rebus utri magni uictoria sit data regni.
interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.
exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux
et simul ex alto longe pulcerrima praepes
laeua uolauit auis. simul aureus exoritur sol
cedunt de caelo ter quattuor corpora sancta

¹³ I follow Skutsch's text, which is not wholly without problems: for a balanced discussion of the textual problems, see Goldberg (1995), 104–5, and cf. also Jocelyn (1971). The most significant emendation for the purposes of this chapter (Skutsch's *Murco for monte*) is highlighted at the end of the quotation.

aium, praepetibus sese pulcrisque locis dant.
conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse propitium
auspicio regni stabilita scamna solumque.

Ann. 72–91 = *Cic. Div.* 1.107–8;

Gell. 7.6.9 (*Ann.* 89))

[74 *monte* *Cic. Div.* 1.107: *Murco Skutsch*]

(Carefully then, with great care, desiring kingly power, together they turn their attention to auspices and augury. On the Murcus (?) Remus sits waiting for auspices and keeps watch alone for a favourable bird. But handsome Romulus searches on the high Aventine, keeping watch for the high-flying race. They were contending whether to call the city Roma or Remora. All men cared which of the two became commander. They wait as when a consul is about to give the signal and everyone greedily looks towards the mouths of the starting gates to see how soon he sends out the painted chariots from the traps. So the people were waiting, and fear for the outcome showed on their faces, to which of the two the victory of high rule had been granted. Meanwhile the white sun set into the depths of night. Then a bright light shone out, struck by the sun's rays, and at once on high in the distance a very fine bird of favourable omen flew on the left. Just as the golden sun rises, twelve holy bodies of birds descended from the sky and alighted in fine and favourable places. From this, Romulus perceived that it was to him alone that, confirmed by auspices, the seat and territory of rule were granted.)

The passage has particularly appealed to readers and commentators because it ties together the distant memory of the foundation of the city with its topography. It narrates the moment—deep in primeval history—when Romulus and Remus competed for rule of the future capital of the world, then just a small settlement by the Tiber; the moment when the city's very name was determined (*Roma*, after Romulus, or *Remora*, after his brother (*Ann.* 77)). There are problems of transmission, but it seems that we are to visualize Remus sitting on the 'Murcus', the early name for a separate height south-east of the Aventine, while Romulus sits on the Aventine proper.¹⁴ With the simile beginning at *Annales* 79, the perspective suddenly shifts from the ancient to the contemporary city of Rome. The comparison with a chariot race in later Rome 'as when a consul is about to give the signal

¹⁴ Skutsch ad loc. and Skutsch (1968), 64–70. Later sources have Romulus on the Palatine, Remus on the Aventine, though Servius knew a version where Romulus was on the Aventine: cf. Ogilvie (1965) on *Livy* 1.6.4. For Remus' association with the Murcus and a defence of Skutsch's emendation, cf. Wiseman (1995), 7, 113.

and everyone greedily looks towards the mouths of the starting gates' makes Ennius' readers feel as if they are right in the contemporary enclosure of the Circus Maximus. To quote Sander Goldberg's close reading of the passage, they are 'at just that place between the Palatine and the Aventine where their ancestors would have had their best view of the twins' rivalry'.¹⁵ Delving back to Rome's deepest past, Ennius binds his story to the urban topography familiar to his readers and the memory evoked by the site as *lieu de mémoire*. The famous 'double consciousness' of past memories and present topography coexistent in a single space that is brought into play in the *Aeneid's* version of future Rome in Book 8 is already manipulated by Ennius here in his claim to the sites of Rome.¹⁶

The augury moment at Rome's foundation comes up again, retrospectively, at *Annales* 154–5:

septingenti sunt, paulo plus aut minus, anni
augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.

Ann. 154–5 = Varro *Rust.* 3.1.2;

Suet. *Aug.* 7.2 (*Ann.* 155)

(It is seven hundred years, a little more or less,
since famous Rome was founded by august augury.)

Skutsch, who assigns the fragment, attested without book number, to Book 4, argues that in the original context the speaker of this passage is Camillus in a rhetorical stand against the move of the site of Rome to Veii after the Gallic sack of Rome in 386 bc.¹⁷ In a passage that seems to be echoing Ennius' fragment, Livy's Camillus famously argues that the identity of 'Rome' and 'Romans' is intimately linked

¹⁵ Goldberg (1995), 108, who accepts Skutsch on the topography of the passage, envisaging the populace standing in the Circus Maximus and looking towards the Aventine and the Murcus. Petrus Crinitus, writing in the sixteenth century, made a similar observation (*in media urbe uersari te credas* (Crinitus (1504), 10.9).

¹⁶ *consul* (*Ann.* 79), in particular, takes us to a time beyond the regal period, and therefore much later than Romulus. *populus* (*Ann.* 82), meanwhile, suggests the Roman civic body, mingling the tenor and vehicle in the simile, part of the effect of which is to help retroject Ennius' later Roman audience into the positions of their ancestors. Cf. Goldberg (1995), 107. The sacral language of the passage (*sancta* (89) *pulchris locis* (88)) also endows the spot with an early holiness.

¹⁷ Skutsch on *Ann.* 154–5. For the idea that Ennius was the first author 'mit einiger Sicherheit' to portray Camillus, see Walter (2004), 387, with further bibliography. Esposito and Flores on *Ann.* 473–4 Flores argue that the words were spoken in the poet's voice as a postscript to the poem as a whole, though Skutsch's argument remains the more attractive, particularly given the high proportion of character speech in epic.

with the city's geographical site, partly because, beginning from its hallowed foundation *augusto augurio*, it is the site that makes Roman customs and rites meaningful:

urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis statim quam loca sunt in quibus fiant. (5.52.2)

(We possess a city founded by auspices and augury; there is no place in it that is not filled with religious associations and the presence of gods. Our religious ceremonies have their appointed places no less than they have appointed days.)

There seems to be an echo of Ennius' lines in *urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus*, and possibly, also, in a later reference to the long settlement on the site.¹⁸ One of the ways in which this speech operates in *Ab urbe condita* is by evoking the memory cache of elements of Livy's own story of early Rome, a story that interacts with Ennius' *Annales*, not just appealing to the historical memory of Camillus' spectators as Romans but to Livy's audience as readers of history. If Skutsch is right about the context of the fragment, it is interesting that the speaker in the *Annales* would then already be doing a similar thing: activating a memory not just from Roman experience but from that experience as depicted within Ennius' own text when evoking the sanctity of the soil of Rome.¹⁹

It is apparent from other fragments, too, that in telling the stories of early Rome, in particular, Ennius' epic was powerfully tied up with *lieux de mémoire* in and around the city. 'Roman myths were essentially myths of place,'²⁰ and the connection between Roman space and memory appears to have been particularly strong in the poem's early

¹⁸ Skutsch, p. 315 notes the echo in Livy 5.54.5, altered to conform with Varronian dating.

¹⁹ Whether or not we accept Skutsch's contextualization, the effect of Livy's Camillus speech depends not just on the publication of Varro's *Antiquitates*, the influence of which, as Wallace-Hadrill notes ((2008), 259), 'heightened Roman awareness of the rites, both practised and forgotten, associated with "each stone"', but also on the knowledge of early Roman space and the rites and histories associated with it heightened by the knowledge of school-learned epic, which means at this stage Ennius' *Annales* (one of Varro's favourite texts). For the idea that Livy's Camillus is representative of 'the strong identification of the city with Roman identity', see Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 259. For the ways in which Livy pointedly evokes the space of Rome in the early books, evoked once again in the speech of Camillus, cf. the remarks by Jaeger (1997), 7.

²⁰ Beard, North, and Price (1998), i. 173 (4.1 'Myths and Place').

books. The Tiber, for example, becomes a highly charged landscape as the place where Ilia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, dreams of her rape by Mars:

et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen.
 talia tum memorat lacrimans, exterrita somno:
 'Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit,
 uires uitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne.
 nam me uisus homo pulcer per amoena salicta
 et ripas raptare locosque nouos. ita sola
 postilla, germana soror, errare uidebar
 tardaque uestigare et quaerere te neque posse
 corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.
 exim compellare pater me uoce uidetur
 his uerbis: 'o gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
 aerumnae, post ex fluuio fortuna resistet.'
 haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit
 nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
 quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa
 tendebam lacrumans et blanda uoce uocabam.
 uix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit.'

Ann. 34–50 = *Cic. Div.* 1.40–1

(Quickly, with trembling limbs, the old woman carried in a light. Then, frightened out of her sleep, weeping, she tells her what happened: 'Daughter of Eurydica, whom our father loved, even now strength and life are leaving all my body. For a handsome man seemed to drag me away through pleasant willowy riverbanks, places unknown to me. Afterwards, alone, sister, I seemed to wander and to track you slowly and seek you out, but I could not reach you, though desired (?).²¹ no path steadied my feet. Then our father seemed to call me with his voice in these words: "O my daughter, you must first face troubles, but afterwards fortune will arise from the river." Father said this, sister, and withdrew at once, and could not come into my sight, though longed for in my heart, and though I stretched out my hands in tears many times to the blue-green regions of the sky, calling out to him in a gentle voice. Sleep just left me now, sick at heart.')

²¹ The phrase *corde capessere* (42) is opaque, with no really satisfactory translation: Skutsch, followed here for convenience, takes *capessere* in the sense of 'to reach you' and glosses the phrase as *cupitam capessere*. Goldberg (1995), 97 n. 18, tentatively suggests emending *corde* to a vocative such as *cara*.

The Tiber's wooded riverbanks (*Ann.* 38–9) with no path to steady her feet (*Ann.* 42) are the context for Ilia's dream-rape.²² It is also the river into whose waters she was later thrown, where her babies were exposed and saved, and on whose banks the future city of Rome would be founded.²³ Other sites include the Luperkal on the slopes of the Palatine nearby, the location of the story of the infants Romulus and Remus suckled by a she-wolf;²⁴ the Ficus Ruminalis where they were later found;²⁵ Romulus' wall,²⁶ and Egeria's numinous grove, located outside the Porta Capena (where the Camenae also live).²⁷ The city's more prominent sites also feature in Ennius' landscape, such as the Capitol, the site of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the end point of the triumphal procession, attacked by the Gauls and threatened by the attacks of Porsenna, Pyrrhus, and Hannibal.²⁸ So too, the poem is preoccupied with the founding of temples, customs, and games in the city,²⁹ the deeds of heroism, piety, or betrayal that left their mark on the land, and the etymologies of its place-names, including a play on the name of the 'Caelian' hill and the word for sky,³⁰ or *Auentinus* from *aves*, 'bird'.³¹

²² Mars visits Ilia in her sleep (Skutsch, p. 194). The rape itself is suggested by the word *raptare* (39): Skutsch ad loc. Krevans (1993), 266, expertly associates this dream with other ancient 'pregnancy dreams'.

²³ *Ann.* lxxxix (= Porphyrio on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.18): *Ilia auctore Ennio in amnem Tiberim iussu Amul[i]i regis Albanorum praecipitata . . . est*, 'Ilia, according to Ennius, was hurled into the Tiber at the command of Amulius, king of the Albans'.

²⁴ *Ann.* 65–8.

²⁵ Faustulus finds the basket that carried the twins caught on a fig tree as the water recedes (*Ann.* lxliv = *Origo gentis Romanae* 20.3); possibly also *Ann.* 448 (*sed. inc.*) describing *fici dulciferae*: see *Ann.* 72 Flores with Flores's note ad loc. Livy could still see the tree in Augustan Rome (1.4.5: *ubi nunc ficus ruminalis est*, 'where the Ficus ruminalis is now'), and Ovid points out vestiges of it (*Fast.* 2.411); cf. *LTUR* ii.241.

²⁶ *Ann.* 92.

²⁷ *Ann.* 113.

²⁸ *Ann.* 227–8.

²⁹ *Ann.* l.li (the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius founded by Romulus, and games instituted); *Ann.* 114–18 (the institutions of Numa); *Ann.* 240–1 (probably referring to the *lectisternium* of 217 bc); the *Aedes Herculis Musarum* fronting the Circus Flaminius, probably celebrated in the epic's original Book 15 close, in the context of which *Ann.* 487 may have come.

³⁰ *Ann.* 127 with Skutsch ad loc. Cf. also O'Hara (1996), 51.

³¹ So Feeney (1991), 121 n. 117, detecting etymological play in Romulus' seat 'on the high Aventine', in *alto* . . . *Auentino*, watching for the 'high-flying race', *genus altiuolantum* (*Ann.* 75–6). Other etymologizing in the poem includes the origins of the names of the early Roman tribes (Varro *Ling.* 5.55 = l.lix Skutsch). For a survey of etymologizing in Rome, see O'Hara (1996), 42–56.

Livius' rendering of the *Odyssey* in Latin in preference to the *Iliad* would have been particularly attractive to a Roman audience because it would resonate with the places in and around Italy, including the region around Rome, traditionally visited by Homer's hero.³² In the *Bellum Punicum* and his *praetexta Romulus*, Naevius had displayed an explicit interest in the Roman foundation story and the landscape of early Italy, telling in his epic of the foundation of the city, including an *aition* for the Palatine, which, we are told, gets its name from *Balatium*, from the verb *balare* 'to bleat', because in the early days of Rome, the site—then just scrub—was used for grazing sheep, and etymologizes Aventinus *ab auibus*.³³ Perhaps already treating Rome's *lieux de mémoire* as a point of epic anxiety, the *Annales* takes that geographical preoccupation further, from the pre-foundation of Rome to the poet's own day, linking for its audience familiar places, above all places in the city, with the stories of Rome's past.

III. VIRGILIAN ARCHAEOLOGIES: ENNIUS AND THE TIBER

In the opening of *Aeneid* 7, just before the epic's second major proem in which the poet declares his intention to sweep up the whole of Italy in his reach, animating it in a new martial epic (*totamque sub arma coactam | Hesperiam* (*Aen.* 7.43–4)), the Trojans approach the river Tiber:

iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis,
cum uenti posuere omnisque repente resedit
flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.
atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum
prospicit. hunc inter fluuio Tiberinus amoeno
uerticibus rapidis et multa flauus harena
in mare prorumpit. uariae circumque supraque
adsuetae ripis uolucres et fluminis alueo

³² Phillips (1953); Goldberg (1995), 50–1; Malkin (1998), 178–91. Odysseus himself is identified as founder of Rome at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2.

³³ Both attested by Varro *Ling.* 5.43 and 5.53 (28 and 29 Str. = 28 and 29 *FPL*). Naevius was also interested in the connection of the name of the island of Prochyta (near Baiae) to a kinswoman of Aeneas (*Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 9.712 = 13 Str. = 12 *FPL*).

aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque uolabant.
 flectere iter sociis terraeque aduertere proras
 imperat et laetus fluuio succedit opaco.

Aen. 7.25–36

(And now the sea was beginning to redden with the rays of the sun and high in the sky Aurora in her rosy chariot glowed crocus-yellow, when the winds dropped and suddenly every breath sank and the oar-blades toiled on the sluggish surface of the sea. Then, from out at sea, Aeneas sees a huge wood. Through it, the Tiber with its lovely stream and quick eddies, yellow with a heavy load of sand, bursts out into the sea. Around it and above it all kinds of birds, at home on its banks and the channel of the river, were soothing the air with their singing and flying about the wood. Aeneas ordered his companions to change course and turn the prow to land and he came into the dark river rejoicing.)

The arrival of Aeneas and the Trojans at the mouth of the Tiber is unique to Virgil in extant versions of the Aeneas legend. Pre-Virgilian accounts traditionally place the Trojan landing further south in the *ager Laurens* and it is likely that this is where Ennius positioned it too.³⁴ At some point in Book 1, the poem featured a prayer to the Tiber (*Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*, ‘and you father Tiber with your holy stream’ (*Ann.* 26)), echoed by Virgil’s Aeneas at *Aeneid* 8.72 (*tuque, O Thybri, tuo genitor cum flumine sancto*, ‘and you father Tiber with your holy stream’). Ennius’ speaker is ultimately unknown, but it may be, as Skutsch suggests, that in the *Annales* Aeneas also prayed to the Tiber at some point on landing in Italy, apparently preceding an exchange with a local king, perhaps of Alba Longa (*Ann.* 32).³⁵

It is clear that Virgil’s Tiber landscape is a highly self-conscious one, acutely aware of its historical and literary residue. The river has defined Aeneas’ goal throughout the early books of the *Aeneid* (2.781–2; 3.500–1;

³⁴ Boas (1938), 53; Buchheit (1963), 179; Della Corte (1972), 121; Horsfall (1990), 156. Cf. *Ann.* 30, *quos homines quondam Laurentis terra recepit* (‘men whom the Laurentine land once welcomed’) with Skutsch, p. 188: ‘no other arrival can be meant’ but that of the Trojans.

³⁵ Skutsch on *Ann.* 26, arguing that Ennius put an ancient formulaic prayer into Aeneas’ mouth without any compunction, since Aeneas could not have known the river’s name. Ultimately, it is not clear from the citing context, Macrobius 6.1.12, whether the speaker in Ennius is Aeneas at all (thought to be so on the parallel with *Aen.* 8.72 (Norden (1915), 162; Skutsch on *Ann.* 26). Flores’s conjecture (on his *Ann.* 28) that Ennius, like Virgil and unlike all other extant pre-Virgilian sources, brought Aeneas to Italy at the mouth of the Tiber, though interesting, remains conjecture working back exclusively from Virgil’s text.

5.82–3, 797), and the focus on it in here as a set piece is highly charged with meaning. The moment is paralleled with two important Greek literary models: Odysseus' arrival on the islands of Scheria and Ithaca (*Od.* 5.390ff.; 13.78ff.) and the Argonauts' arrival at the mouth of the Phasis (*Apoll. Arg.* 2.1260ff.).³⁶ As Virgil's ships approach the Tiber, however, Ennius' *Annales* begin carefully to be brought to the fore. The formulaic description of the breaking dawn is an Ennian feature, possibly with a direct Ennian source as well as its Apollonian and Odyssean precedents.³⁷ The description of the sea likewise uses Ennian formulae and diction. *Repente resedit* (27), with its assonance and the position of its word ends echoes *Annales* 46 (*repente recessit*);³⁸ *tonsae* (28) is an Ennian word for oars (*Ann.* 218, 219, 294; *Var.* 27 Vahlen²), as is the noun *marmor* (28; cf. *Ann.* 377, of the yellowish-white foam on the surface of the sea). Above all, though, the river Tiber is introduced in Ennian terms. Its name *Tiberinus* (30), a cult name generally avoided in speech by characters in the *Aeneid*, finds its epic precedent in Ennius' poem.³⁹ The description of it clearly recalls the descriptions in the *Annales* of the same place: *Annales* 453 also describes Ostia where *et Tiberis flumen <flauom> uomit in mare salsum*, 'and the yellow river Tiber spews into the salt sea' (*Ann.* 453); compare esp. *in mare prorumpit* (7.32) with *uomit... in mare*

³⁶ For the model in the *Odyssey*, see Knauer (1964), 241–54; Cairns (1989), 178–9; Kyriakidis (1998), 126–33; for Apollonius, see Nelis (2001), 262–6. The Latin versions of these poems by Livius Andronicus and Varro Atacinus would have played a part in the intertextual fabric of the poem as well.

³⁷ Formulae for daybreak in the *Annales* occur at 85 (*exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux*, 'suddenly a bright light shone out, struck by the sun's rays') and 572 (*inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum*, 'then the bright wheel opened up the sky with its rays') both with *radiis* in the same line position as *Aen.* 7.25. Wiemer (1933) ad loc. suggests a possible Ennian source on the strength of the use of *bigae* here and its use in Enn. *scaen.* 113 Vahlen² (= 97 Jocelyn). For *iamque* (7.25) opening the formula, cf. the parody of epic style in *Hor. Sat.* 1.5.20; 2.6.100–1; *alto* at line end occurs at *Ann.* 75 and 369. For the poetic use of inceptive verbs of colour (7.25), a special feature of Virgil's language (Horsfall (2000) on *Aen.* 7.25 and 528; Jenkyns (1998), 469, 202; Edgeworth (1992), 42, 159–60), cf. *russescunt* at *Ann.* 245 (of autumn leaves turning). On Ennius' 'eye for colour' cf. Skutsch, p. 428. On Ennian formulaic language for times of day 'apparently described with loving care', see also Skutsch, p. 711, and cf. Wigodsky (1972), 47.

³⁸ Horsfall on line 27 points out that *repente* on its own 'is slightly archaic in tone' so that 'the combined effect will have been unmistakable even if *repente resedit* itself never appeared as a collocation in *Ann.*'

³⁹ *Ann.* 26, *Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*. See e.g. Horsfall (1990), 157; Rehm (1932), 56 n. 122; Cairns (2006) on names for the river.

(*Ann.* 453),⁴⁰ and the detail of the wooded riverbanks through which the river flows (7.29) evokes the tree-lined banks (*amoena salicta et ripas*) of the Tiber landscape at *Annales* 38–9.⁴¹ Not merely an idyllic vision of ‘the old Italian landscape’,⁴² the Tiber becomes associated here with the *Aeneid*’s native epic precursor.

The link with the poetic past is reinforced by the strong suggestion, at another level, that this is also a metaliterary landscape of poetry, and especially Roman epic poetry. Words seem carefully chosen, in part, to carry connotations of Roman epic: the adjective *amoenus* ‘pleasant’, avoided in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, is Ennian (*Ann.* 163: *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen*, ‘the river which flows through the pleasant city with its smooth current’; cf. *amoenus* of the Tiber’s banks at *Ann.* 38).⁴³ *Ingens* ‘huge’, too, can bring with it epic associations.⁴⁴ More striking, and what has most of all been noted by commentators on the passage, is the image of the river’s violently moving silty water. Rivers have a double function in epic because they can stand as a symbol for literary tradition. Eddying rivers carrying a lot of silt in their waters in Augustan and later poetry look back to a definition, or what was clearly interpreted as such, of Callimachean poetics as expressed in the famous river passage at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*.⁴⁵ The violently eddying Tiber here is analogous to Callimachus’ Euphrates (Ἐσσυρίον ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος (*Hymn* 2.108)) and its sand to the silt and the refuse it carries with it. This passage has therefore been interpreted as a deliberate engagement with Callimachean poetics. Now transferred to a Roman context, the silty but not filthy river combines a potent symbol of Roman power with a famous symbol of epic poetry, representing at

⁴⁰ *flauom* is Skutsch’s supplement. For the adjective used of the Tiber cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.448; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13. Behind *Aen.* 7.30–2 and perhaps *Ann.* 453 is also the description of the Phasis in Apoll. 2.401 (Φᾶσις δινῆεις εὐρὺν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα βάλλει) (Phineus’ directions to the Argonauts). See Thomas (1985), 67; Nelis (2001), 263 n. 159.

⁴¹ There is in both, then, ‘a good deal more than the odd tree of the conventional *locus amoenus*’ (Horsfall (2000) on *Aen.* 7.29). On Virgil’s woods, see Reeker (1971), 66–7.

⁴² Horsfall (2000), 65.

⁴³ For *amoenus*, see Kyriakidis (1998), 136–45, citing also Hor. *Ars P.* 17: *et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros* (‘and the winding of a stream rushing through pleasant fields’), as a line that ‘seems to be an exaggeration of previous poetic practice’ (138). Cf. also Kyriakidis (1998), 139–40, for Ennian associations.

⁴⁴ Kyriakidis (1998), 128, 154.

⁴⁵ On Callimachean rivers, see esp. Masters (1992), 169–72, and Jones (2005), esp. 55–6.

some level the 'not unpleasant' Roman epic tradition, with the force of its current aptly bringing out associations of Ennius' poetic *uis*.⁴⁶ It becomes almost a deliberate choice of an Ennian path when the *Aeneid*'s hero sails up the river.⁴⁷

In a sense, then, the Ennian Tiber at the opening of *Aeneid* 7 presents metapoetically a tradition of epic succession: Homeric epic had already been naturalized on Italian soil by Ennius, and the *Aeneid* represents itself as inheriting the river and the epic tradition 'pioneered' by its strong precursor. This theme of literary succession is given concrete realization later on in the poem in Aeneas' dream of the Tiber on the river's banks (*fluuiio Tiberinus amoeno* again (8.31)), when the river god 'offers himself as a new national and ancestral river'⁴⁸ to Virgil's newly arrived hero, in a dream that parallels Ennius' own groundbreaking dream of Roman epic succession in the prologue to the *Annales*. Like Aeneas' earlier dream of the spirit of Hector in Book 2 (268–97), and of the spirit of Anchises in Book 6 (679–892), this, too, is partly an embedded moment of homage and succession looking back to Ennius' proemial dream of Homer, as the river, *genitor* (8.72), rises out of the landscape to welcome Virgil's hero as the heir of Homer in Italy, preserving Pergamum for ever (*aeternaque Pergama seruas* (8.37)), and so gives strength for the hard task, the *maius opus* (7.45), of writing an Iliadic epic on Italian soil.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Kyriakidis (1998), 147–52 *et passim*, who identifies 'a revised Callimachean poetics' in the pleasant landscape of the Tiber in contrast to the silty waters of the Euphrates of *Hymn* 2.109.

⁴⁷ Thomas (1985).

⁴⁸ Jenkyns (1998), 61.

⁴⁹ See Hardie (1993), 101–5, on epic succession and Aeneas' dream of Hector (Homer's great Trojan epic hero), and cf. Austin (1964) on *Aen.* 2.271, 275: both Hector's phantom in Virgil and Homer's shade in Ennius are seen in a dream (*in somnis . . . uisus adesse*, 'seemed to be present in sleep' (*Aen.* 2.270–1); *uisus . . . adesse*, 'seemed to be present' (*Ann.* 3)), both apparently weep (*largosque effundere fletus*, 'shed copious tears' (*Aen.* 271); *lacrimas effundere salsas*, 'shed salt tears' (*Ann.* l. iv Skutsch = *Lucr.* 1.125 (cf. Skutsch ad loc. with Horsfall (2008) on 270 and 271 (*effundere*)). For the later meeting between Anchises and Aeneas echoing Ennius' dream of the phantom of Homer, where Anchises' words, tears, and discourse of the nature of the universe echo Homer's in Ennius' proem, 'in the dream-like context of the Underworld' (Hardie (1998), 53: cf. Wigodsky (1972), 73, and Kofler (2003), 77); see esp. Hardie (1993), 103–5; (1986), 69–83; (1998), 53; expanded by Kofler (2003) (*expectate* ('awaited') of Aeneas here (8.38) echoes *expectate* in the earlier meeting with the past (6.687)). On the connection between the dream of Hector (Aeneas' first dream) and the dream of Tiber (Aeneas' last), see Walde (2001). See further Kofler (2003), 28–42, generally for discussion of the metapoetic links in Virgil between epic

Yet the relationship to the past poem that these two metapoetic passages suggest is more ambivalent than that of the simple homage or borrowed strength they imply and, importantly, goes far beyond the metapoetic self-positioning of the *Aeneid* vis-à-vis the *Annales* as a mere literary artefact. As Nicholas Horsfall puts it, as the Trojans reach the Tiber mouth the effect is particularly striking because ‘for Roman readers [the Tiber] . . . bore a massive charge of legendary and historical evocations’. In Pierre Nora’s terms, the river constitutes a particularly powerful *lieu de mémoire*, a site in which many of Rome’s memories of the events of its history in myth and legend are concentrated, from the conception of Romulus and Remus on its banks to the introduction of Cybele at its mouth. Many of these events had been commemorated and canonized by Ennius in his epic, especially, judging from what we have of the poem and what readers in the first century BC knew well, the events of Rome’s early history. The Tiber plays a key part in the foundation of Rome from the very beginning of the *Annales*: Book 1 at some point featured a prayer to the Tiber (*Ann.* 26), perhaps spoken by Aeneas on landing in Italy, and its landscape provides the background for Ilia’s dream, the moment of the conception of the twins and the origin of the foundation of the city. The princess is then drowned in it (*Ann.* lxxxix), after which, as prophesied to her, good fortune comes from it (*Ann.* 45); its flooded pools save Romulus and Remus from drowning (*Ann.* lxliv = *Origo gentis Romanae* 20.3; *Ann.* 63 and perhaps *Ann.* 5); and finally the city of Rome is founded on the Tiber’s banks.⁵⁰ As the prophecy’s indefinite language suggests at *Annales* 45, the Tiber, to a greater or lesser degree, goes on beyond the city’s

poet and epic hero. Cf. also Tueller (2000) for allusion here to Callimachus’ dream in the prologue to the *Aetia*.

⁵⁰ *tum illi, quibus id imperatum erat impositos alueo pueros circa radices montis Palatii in Tiberim, qui tum magnis imbribus stagnauerat, abiecerunt, eiusque regionis subulcus Faustus speculatus exponentes, ut uidit relabente flumine alueum in quo pueri erant obhaesisse ad arborem fici puerorumque uagitu lupam excitam, quae repente exierat, primo lambitu eos deterisise, dein leuandorum uberum gratia mammas prae-buisse, descendit ac sustulit nutriendosque Accae Larentiae, uxori suae, dedit, ut scribunt Ennius libro primo et Caesar libro secundo* (‘Then those who had been ordered to do so placed the boys in a basket and cast them off into the Tiber (which at that time was flooded on account of heavy rain) around the base of the Palatine Hill. A swineherd of the region, Faustus, watched the men exposing the boys and when he saw that, as the river receded, the basket in which they had been placed had caught on a fig tree, and that a she-wolf, who had suddenly emerged, stirred by the children’s cries, had first licked them clean and then, to lighten their fullness, offered her teats to be suckled, he climbed down, picked them up, and took them to be nursed by his wife Acca Larentia,

foundation to help the new nation in its progress and would have had a significant place in some of the later stories in Rome's legendary history: Horatius Cocles leaping into the river for safety or, perhaps, the arrival of Cybele during the Second Punic War, brought to Rome from Pergamum to drive Hannibal from Italy.⁵¹

The *Aeneid* presents the river before Ennius' key events involving it occurred. Virgil's story precedes most of Ennius chronologically, so partly calls for this, but the precedence in narrative time is exploited to suggest poetic priority too. This begins to be suggested in physical terms in the Tiber landscape we first see. There are no people here, and the heavily wooded banks (*ingentem . . . lucum* (29)) and water that is sandy but not filthy (Callimachus' *λύματα* (*Hymn* 2.109)), suggest the earliest primordial past.⁵² More importantly, the river's mouth is presented not from the omniscient standpoint of an objective narrator but from the point of view of the poem's hero (*Aeneas . . . prospicit* (29–30)), ignorant of his surroundings (cf. *ignota* | . . . *flumina* (7.137–8)), and implicitly also of the Ennian literary past. As writers on this passage often note, Aeneas' 'gaze' is almost like the gaze of a colonist approaching

as Ennius writes in his first book and Caesar in his second') (*Ann.* I.xliv = *Origo gentis Romanae* 20.3). For the flooded Tiber, cf. *Ann.* 63–4 with Skutsch ad loc.; *Ann.* 5, which Skutsch thought belonged to a speech by Homer's ghost on the nature of the universe, has more recently been reascribed to the flooding of the Tiber valley by Flores on his *Ann.* 67, adopting earlier emendations (*destituunt campos riuoque remanant* '[the waters] leave the fields and flow back into the stream').

⁵¹ *Ann.* 123, *hic occasus datus est, at Horatius inclutus saltu* ('here the opportunity arose, but famous Horatius with a leap'), might refer to Cocles. *Dubia* 1, which may belong to Ennius, might refer to the carrying to Rome of the *Magna Mater* in 204 bc (Skutsch, pp. 768–9; for possible allusion to the event in Virgil, see Boas (1938), 55–6; Görler (1993); and Hardie (1987), 170–1). Ovid, a reader of both Virgil and Ennius, makes Cybele repeat the journey of Aeneas from Troy to the Tiber's mouth with timber felled from the same grove (*Fast.* 4.273–92). A fragment securely attested for Book 5, *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen*, 'the river which flows through the pleasant city with its smooth current' (*Ann.* 163), might likewise refer to the Tiber. *Ann.* 581 describes a river, personified or semi-personified, that intervenes to help the Romans later 'with its great hand' (*manu magna*): Skutsch, p. 721, would prefer to 'think of Tiber'.

⁵² As Hughes (1994), 162–3, notes of the Tiber in later periods, 'every imaginable form of refuse' was dumped into the river. Archaeological evidence for a real settlement at Ostia dates from the fourth century, and the site had been the object of plans of extensive rebuilding begun under Caesar (Plut. *Caes.* 58.5) and possibly planned but abandoned under Augustus: Boas (1938), 57; Reeker (1971), 146–7. For a built-up Ostia in Ennius, cf. *Ann.* 128 (*Ostia munita est*), in the context of which *Ann.* 453, *et Tiberis flumen <flauom> uomit in mare salsum*, 'and the yellow river Tiber spews into the salt sea', echoed at *Aen.* 7.30–2, may have come.

the New World.⁵³ This is a powerful technique because it is also one of forgetting. In the analogous passage in *Odyssey* 13 on which this one is partly modelled, Odysseus arrives on Ithaca having awakened from a deep sleep (13.79–80, 187), and, although he is in his ancestral home (ἐν γαίῃ πατρώϊῃ (13.188)), he does not know it (οὐδέ μιν ἔγνω (13.188)). As Carol Dougherty stresses in her discussion of the Homeric passage, the hero's ignorance becomes a way of showing the land afresh, defamiliarizing it, and thereby almost recolonizing it. Like a clean slate on which you can write again, the past can be forgotten, at least for a moment, and with it the present's dependence on it, creating the conditions for future success.⁵⁴ This partial oblivion becomes a powerful technique in the *Aeneid* at another level in the way that it manipulates its position in relation to the literary past. In a kind of double consciousness, the stories already bound up with this *lieu de mémoire* in Rome's previous national epic can be momentarily forgotten, making space for the new poem and its new national narrative to take their place as the first and the central text of Rome's early history, creating a clean slate on which the *Aeneid* can write its own epic narrative of Rome's foundation 'first'.

Having reached Italy afresh, in the subsequent action, some of the key surviving episodes involving the Tiber in Ennius' epic are pre-echoed in Virgil's in a time frame set before they ever occurred. Just as Ilia had had a 'foundation dream' set on the banks of the Tiber which led to the foundation of Rome (*Ann.* 34–50), so Aeneas lying on its banks (*in ripa* (8.28)) sees the river itself in a dream prefiguring the foundation of Alba (8.26–67).⁵⁵

huic deus ipse loci fluuio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
uisus . . .
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
'o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
qui reuehis nobis aeternaue Pergama seruas,
expectate solo Laurenti aruisque Latinis,
hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates . . .

⁵³ E.g., Jenkyns (1998), 469; Jones (2005), 93.

⁵⁴ Dougherty (2001), esp. 162–4 'The New World of Ithaca'.

⁵⁵ See Krevans (1993) on this particular category of dream in the Ilia fragment, defined broadly as 'the oracular dream which serves to guide the founder of a new city to his or her goal' (268); Krevans also links the Ennian fragment to Dido's 'anti-foundation' dream at *Aen.* 4.465–73.

iamque tibi, ne uana putes haec fingere somnum,
 litoreis ingens inuenta sub ilicibus sus
 triginta caputum fetus enixa iacebit,
 alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati . . .
 ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
 Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam' . . .
 dixit, deinde lacu fluuius se condidit alto
 ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.

Aen. 8.31–3; 35–9; 42–5; 47–8; 66–7

(He saw in his sleep the very god of the place, old Tiber with his lovely stream, rising among the poplar leaves . . . He then spoke to Aeneas and took away his cares with these words: 'O you who are born from the race of the gods, who are bringing back to us the city of Troy from the enemy and preserving Pergamum for ever, long awaited on Laurentine ground and in the fields of Latium, here your home is sure, and—don't draw back—your penates sure . . . And now, so that you do not think this is an empty dream, you will find a huge sow just delivered of a litter of thirty piglets lying under the ilex trees on the shore, reclining on the ground, all white, and white her litter around her udders . . . This will be a sign that in thirty revolving years Ascanius will found the city of Alba of glorious name' . . . So the river spoke, and plunged into a deep pool, seeking the depths; night and sleep left Aeneas.)

Like Ilia in the dream fragment, Aeneas appears in his role as an agent of foundation. Like her, he is reassured by future success (the river twice refers to him as *uictor* (50, 61)), and like her, he will not live to see the city whose foundation the dream prophesies. Both are also said to wake when sleep leaves them (*me somnus reliquit* (*Ann.* 50); cf. *Aen.* 8.67, *nox Aenean somnusque reliquit*). The river god's prophecy in the dream is confirmed when Aeneas awakes and sees a foundation prodigy on the banks of the Tiber, a white sow suckling thirty piglets, indicating the foundation of Alba after thirty years by the gens *Iulia*.⁵⁶

ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,
 candida per siluam cum fetu concolor albo
 procubuit uiridique in litore conspicitur sus.

Aen. 8.81–3

⁵⁶ On the prodigy, see esp. Grassmann-Fischer (1966), 54–63, and E. L. Harrison (1986), 138–9.

(But look! A sudden portent wondrous to see, a sow gleaming white through the wood, the same colour as her white brood, lay stretched out before their eyes on the green shore.)

The prodigy's natural geographical place is not here (it should be on the site of Alba).⁵⁷ Instead, 'lying stretched on the green shore' of the Tiber, the poem transfers the Alban sow to the powerfully evocative site of the banks of the river of Rome, giving this *monstrum* precedence as the 'original' foundation prodigy, foretelling the foundation of a city that will one day lead to the founding of the capital on the banks of the Tiber.⁵⁸ The sow subtly evokes the more familiar foundation prodigy (for Virgil's readers set many generations after Aeneas' landing), which would more naturally have been associated with the banks of the Tiber: the she-wolf miraculously suckling the twin boys Romulus and Remus. This will, in fact, be one of the first scenes Vulcan fashions on the Ennian shield of Aeneas at the end of Book 8:

fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in antro
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impavidos, illam tereti ceruice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.

Aen. 8.630–4

⁵⁷ Fabius Pictor (*FRH* 1, 5 = 4 Peter). Hence, in part, the problems with *Aen.* 8.46 (*hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*), which is generally regarded as an interpolation: cf. Eden (1975), ad loc. On Virgil's transference of geographical location see Rehm (1932), 47–8 (Varro also records an alternative version in which the sow is one of Aeneas' own animals in Lavinium (*Rust.* 2.4.18), but no source places it on the Tiber's banks).

⁵⁸ The language in which the prodigy is introduced is Ennian-sounding and possibly Ennian: the alliterative *mirabile monstrum* (a phrase that appears in the same line position in Cicero's translation of the *Iliad* (*Div.* 2.63 = 23.20 FPL)), has a possible Ennian source (Wiemer (1933), ad loc.; Norden (1957), 374)), as does the monosyllabic line end *sus* (the same monosyllabic end appears in *Lucr.* 5.25 and *G.* 3.255: Wiemer (1933), ad loc.). If Skutsch on *Ann.* 31 (*olli respondit rex Albae Longae*) is correct in thinking that Alba in Ennius was already in existence on the Trojans' arrival and Aeneas met its king, the foundation prodigy would be emphatically pre-Ennian. Alba in the *Aeneid* is pointedly non-existent at the time of the Trojan landing: Nisus passes places 'which were later called Alban after Alba's name' (*qui post Albae de nomine dicti | Albani* (*Aen.* 9.387–8)), but which at that time (*tum*) were simply the location of Latinus' stables, while Juno later watches the battle on Italian soil from the summit of what will one day be Mount Alba, but which at that time (*tum*) had 'no name nor honour or glory' (*neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti* (*Aen.* 12.135)).

(He had made, too, the mother wolf lying stretched out in the green cave of Mars. The twin boys hung playing around her udders and suckling her unafraid as she bent her supple neck back to stroke each of them in turn and mould their bodies with her tongue.)

Servius could still state that this scene was completely 'Ennian' (*sane totus hic locus Ennianus est* (ad *Aen.* 8.631 = *Ann.* I.xlii)). What exactly he means by *totus hic locus* in terms of closeness to the text is contentious.⁵⁹ It is clear, though, that the Lupercal vignette, at least, represents an Ennian scene.⁶⁰ The sow prodigy we see first on the Tiber's banks carefully pre-echoes this. Like the she-wolf in Ennius' account, the sow is equally fertile (*lupus femina feta* (*Ann.* 65); *cum fetu* (*Aen.* 8.82)), and her recumbent posture with young around her udders mirrors Virgil's Ennian Lupercal scene on Vulcan's shield (compare *procubuit* (8.83) with *procubuisse* (8.631), and *circum ubera* (8.45) with *ubera circum* (8.631)), both in a green spot by the Tiber (*uiridi in litore* (8.83), cf. *uiridi . . . in antro* of the Lupercal (8.630)).⁶¹

Traces of Ennius' Romulean myths continue as the narrative goes on. In the *Annales* the river's calm waters help Romulus and Remus to their salvation. In *Aeneid* 8 the same river (*regnator aquarum*, 'the lord of the waters' (8.77)); *fluuius, qui est omnibus princeps*, 'the river which is lord of all' (*Ann.* 63)) does so, too, for Aeneas:

Thybris ea fluuium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo:
labitur uncta uadis abies; mirantur et undae,

⁵⁹ Examples of *Ennianus* and similar expressions range from close verbal repetition of whole lines or hemistichia to a single word at line end (as in the famous example of Servius' note on *Aeneid* 5.591: *frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error: 'Catulli uersus'* ('a verse of Catullus'), referring to Cat. 64.115, *tecti frustraretur inobseruabilis error*). Servius' *locus* is likewise problematic since almost all the subject matter in Virgil's shield between lines 630 and 662 falls within the compass of Ennius' poem, which would lead to the conclusion that Servius' comment applies to this whole section, but there are in fact too few concrete verbal parallels with the extant fragments to pin down Ennian sources in the strict sense. For problems with Servius as a source, see Skutsch, pp. 40–2 and Jocelyn (1965).

⁶⁰ Other fragments referring to the twins and she-wolf episode are *Ann.* 65, *lupus femina feta repente* ('a she-wolf suddenly'); *Ann.* 66–8 and I.xliv.

⁶¹ Gransden (1976) notes the analogy. With *candida per siluam* (*Aen.* 8.82) cf. also *conicit in siluam* of Ennius' she-wolf (*Ann.* 68).

miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
 scuta uirum fluuiio pictasque innare carinas.
 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
 et longos superant flexus, uariisque teguntur
 arboribus, uiridisque secant placido aequore siluas.

Aen. 8.86–96

(All that night long the Tiber calmed its swelling stream and flowing back with silent wave so halted that like a gentle pool or a quiet marsh it smoothed the surface of its waters so that there should be no struggle for the oars. And so they began their journey and hastened on with a cheerful noise. The caulked hulls glided over the water. The waves were amazed and the woods amazed, unaccustomed to the sight, at the far-glinting shields of men and painted prows floating on the river. They wear out night and day with rowing and master the long windings of the river, and, covered by all kinds of trees, they cleave the green woods on the smooth water.)

The river, like Ennius' Tiber, arrests its current (*constitit* (*Ann.* 63); cf. *substitit* (*Aen.* 8.87));⁶² like the flooded banks in the Romulean founding myth, its calm waters become pool-like (*in morem stagni placidaeque paludis* (88)) from its full flood (*tumentem* (86)), in marked contrast to the characteristically violent current we first see (7.30–2; cf. *Ann.* 453).⁶³ It may be that the passage goes back verbally to a direct Ennian source about the twins.⁶⁴ Whatever the case, the occurrence certainly seems to hint strongly at a resemblance between this and the similar crucial event in Ennius' Roman foundation story,

⁶² *Ann.* 63, *postquam constitit †isti fluuius, qui est omnibus princeps* ('after that river which is lord of all stood still'), is quoted by Fronto in reference to the Tiber and must have formed part of the account of the flooding of the river at the exposure of the twins (cf. Flores on lines 68–9 of his edition).

⁶³ The flooding of the Tiber was understood as a prodigy in Rome's history (Livy 30.38.10–12; 35.9.2; 35.21.5; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13 with Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad loc.; Aldrete (2007), 219–21), and conceivably, Ennius may also have described the event as a miracle as Virgil does (*mirantur* (91); *miratur* (92)). For a miraculous *adynaton* of arrested water in Ennius, cf. *Scipio* 9–12 Vahlen² where the ever-flowing rivers (*amnes perennes*) stop flowing, perhaps also part of a divinely ordained water crossing (so Warmington 1–4).

⁶⁴ Cf. *Origo gentis Romanae* 20.3 = *Ann.* I.xliv and Binder (1971), 34 who also points out (p. 36) a number of echoes of Livy's description of the exposure of Romulus and Remus (1.4.4–6): in particular the smoothing of the current (*leniit* (*Aen.* 8.87)), the marsh-like pools (*mitis* . . . *in morem stagni* (*Aen.* 8.88), with *stagnis* (Livy 1.4.4)), and the similar detail of the weakened current of the 'sluggish stream' (*languida* . . . *aqua* (Livy 1.4.4)). Cf. also the event happening 'by some divine chance' (*forte quadam diuinitus* (Livy 1.4.4)).

as *pater Aeneas* assumes a role equally important to that of Romulus in Ennius' poem.⁶⁵

During the night, the Trojans sail upstream, following the bending course of the Tiber to approach the site of future Rome. They are said to approach by 'untried routes' (*uias . . . ignotas* (8.113)) unknown to the inhabitants—and, metapoetically, unknown in literature—eliciting the marvel of the river landscape unaccustomed (*insuetum* (8.92)) to the novelty.⁶⁶ But the upstream journey echoes others in later history, like Cybele's in 204 bc, which Ennius may have told.⁶⁷ At high noon the next day, the Trojans catch sight of the city of Rome.

IV. 'ROMA PRIMA DI ROMA'

Ennius followed the tradition according to which Romulus and Remus were Aeneas' own grandsons by his daughter Ilia, popular before the version in which several generations of Alban kings intervened between Aeneas' arrival in Italy and the foundation of Rome was invented.⁶⁸ This would make the foundation date for Rome in the *Annales* but two generations after Aeneas' landing in Italy. The revised Alban version of the foundation myth, which gave early chronology greater plausibility and important families ancient roots by incorporating a series of Alban kings between Aeneas' landing and

⁶⁵ Cf. Binder (1971), 34, laying emphasis on the typological links between Aeneas, Romulus, and Augustus.

⁶⁶ Both are said to 'marvel' (*mirantur* (8.91); *miratur* (8.92)), the characteristic reaction of the approacher to the new world (Greenblatt (1991), tracing the tradition back to Herodotus). Cf. Aeneas' marvel at the site of future Rome as he gazes around him (*miratur* (8.310–11)) with Bacon (1939).

⁶⁷ *Dub.* 1 with Skutsch ad loc. Other upstream Tiber journeys in tradition include Saturn, Evander, Hercules, and Asclepius: Hardie (1987), 170–1; Görler (1993). This journey, too, is presented using Ennian language (*labitur uncta* (*Aen.* 8.91; *Ann.* 376, 505); *rumore secundo* (*Aen.* 8.90; *Ann.* 244); *olli* (*Aen.* 8.94); and perhaps the formation *luctamen* (*Aen.* 8.89; Norden (1915), 27–9 n. 2)), again set 'first' in an untouched landscape that has not experienced ships or soldiers before (8.92). Cf. Thomas (1982b), 160–1: 'Aeneas' fleet is sailing up the Tiber, a river previously unacquainted with ships—this is clear from the emphatic implication of *insuetum*'. For Thomas, Aeneas' Tiber journey also pre-echoes the 'first' boat journey by Catullus' (and Apollonius') Argonauts through allusion to Catullus 64.6–7.

⁶⁸ *Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 1.273: *Naevius et Ennius Aeneae ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis tradunt*, 'Naevius and Ennius relate that Romulus, the city's founder, was Aeneas' grandson by his daughter'.

the birth of the twins, had already been used by Fabius Pictor in his Greek history of Rome, published around thirty years before the *Annales*.⁶⁹ But Ennius chose to stick to the older version that took the city back to the charged mythical past. For Virgil, the tradition of the Julian line of Alban kings and the later foundation date for Rome of 753 bc was inescapable: the *Albani patres* (*Aen.* 1.7) are mentioned in the poem's first sentence as part of the teleological purpose of Aeneas' mission. This means that for the *Aeneid*, Rome, the most important place in Roman epic and the ultimate *lieu de mémoire*, is founded 'belatedly', three centuries after the *Aeneid* is set and potentially both geographically and chronologically beyond the reach of its action.⁷⁰

For readers, therefore, familiar with Ennius' narrative of the foundation of Rome on the one hand and the Alban version foregrounded earlier in the *Aeneid* on the other, finding, in *Aeneid* 8, a settlement already on the site of Rome must have been something of a surprise. The myth that a group of Arcadians led by Evander, a race traditionally 'older than the moon',⁷¹ had settled on the Palatine before the Trojan War was known from its minor role in the accounts of historians, where it explained certain traces of ancient times in modern Rome, but its precise relation to the dominant tradition of Trojan foundation stemming from Aeneas and leading to Romulus was left vague.⁷² These two 'competing founding myths'⁷³ are synchronized by Virgil in what commentators on the passage have seen as 'a significant innovation'.⁷⁴ In *Aeneid* 8, Virgil brings Aeneas face to face with

⁶⁹ *FRH* 1, 8 = 6 Peter. Cf. Feeney (2007), 99. On Fabius as a source for Ennius elsewhere, see Skutsch, p. 7.

⁷⁰ For a cultural history that charts the moving dates of the foundation of Rome, see Feeney (2007), 86–100, who also discusses the choice which Ennius and Naevius made as a means of anchoring the origins of Rome in heroic time while also giving their stories universal significance, enabling them 'to restate these origins as being directly linked to the beginning of universal history, with the fall of Troy leading to the rise of Rome' (99). On Ennius as universal historian, see Elliott (2010).

⁷¹ *Ov. Fast.* 2.90.

⁷² Fantham (1992), 156–7; Mavrogiannis (2003), 87–116.

⁷³ Fantham (1992), 157. Eden remarks on how the Evander story 'constitute[s] ... a serious ... rival legend to the traditional story of Romulus' (Eden (1975) on 8.313); Mavrogiannis (2003).

⁷⁴ Papaioannou (2003), 681: 'Evander's conspicuous role in the early days of Rome constitutes a significant Virgilian innovation and major turning point in Roman legendary tradition'; cf. Fantham (1992), 156, on Virgil as 'a great innovator'.

Evander, whom he calls specifically 'the founder of the Roman citadel' (*Romanae conditor arcis* (8.313)), on the site of future Rome.⁷⁵ One of the things this allows the *Aeneid* to do is to present a settlement already on the soil of Rome 'before' Rome, bringing its readers to the memory-laden site of the capital city chronologically before it ever existed in Ennius and Naevius. An important consequence of this in terms of the *Aeneid*'s relation to its epic past is that the revised account of Rome's foundation implicitly replaces the one Ennius, in particular, had given in the *Annales*.⁷⁶ This revision of Ennius seems almost metapoetically signalled when Virgil's Aeneas quotes a line from the Aeneas episode in Book 1 of the *Annales*:

accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum

Ann. 32 = Macrob. 6.1.13

(accept and give a pledge of faith and strike a treaty very firm)

accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello
pectora

Aen. 8.150–1

(accept and give a pledge of faith. Our breasts are strong in war.)

The most likely context of this in the *Annales* is land negotiations for the city the Trojans found on the *ager Laurens* that leads, eventually, to the city Romulus founds elsewhere,⁷⁷ but here the hero is geographically and narratologically displaced, face to face with Evander and standing on the banks of the Tiber and the soil of the walled and fortified *urbs* which, for Ennius, was only to come two generations on.⁷⁸ Mysteriously, Evander's small settlement on the site of future Rome is explicitly called *urbs* (8.101, 104), which suggests the archetypal

⁷⁵ *et hic subtiliter uidetur significare Romam initium ab Euandro ducere* ('and here he seems subtly to indicate that Rome draws her origins from Evander' (*Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 8.313)). Another proto-Romulean figure makes a cameo appearance in *Aeneid* 7, where we learn that Aventinus in the catalogue of Italians (7.655–69), like Romulus, is the son of 'Rhea' and a god, Hercules, and gives his name to Roman topography. (For his Aventine associations, cf. Horsfall (2000) ad loc.)

⁷⁶ At the same time, the fact that Evander comes from Greece also means that in a kind of double bind Greece, too, has already arrived in Rome long before Ennius can claim to have 'imported the Muse'.

⁷⁷ Skutsch, pp. 190–1.

⁷⁸ Virgil's Aeneas may also be echoing the genealogy his counterpart gave on landing in Italy (*Ann.* 27 and 28–9 with Skutsch ad locc.).

urbs, Roma.⁷⁹ When the Trojans first glimpse it in the distance as they sail upstream what they see are 'walls and a citadel' (*muros arcemque* (*Aen.* 8.98)), the hallmarks of the later walled city of the Romulean foundation myth (*altae moenia Romae* (*Aen.* 1.7); *Ann.* 92 (Romulus' wall)).⁸⁰ On landing, they find that the inhabitants of this city already have a senate (8.105) and the beginnings of a calendar, and engage in religious rites, strictly observed in Roman terms, suggesting the hallmarks of the institutions which were the legacy of Romulus or Rome's second king, Numa.⁸¹ The king lives in a palace (*regia* (8.363)) that echoes the Regia of the frugal Numa.⁸² The people of Evander—descendants of the nymph Carmentis, one of the Camenae and a *uates* (8.340)—have a pre-Ennian literary heritage, too, already observable to spectators on the soil of the city, as they perform for Aeneas and his men a mysterious proto-Roman version of Numa's *Carmen Saliare* (8.285–302), one of the most proverbially 'ancient' of known Roman songs, whose dancing priests appear in a later Rome on the shield of Aeneas (8.663).⁸³

The landscape in which these anachronistic re-enactments of future Rome take place is a specifically 'pre-Ennian' site, already a

⁷⁹ Jenkyns (1998), 546–7; unqualified *urbs* denotes Rome at *Aen.* 8.647. Another proto-Rome by the Tiber, the Trojan camp, will also be called *urbs* (*Aen.* 9.48, 473, 639, 784), and its defenders *ciues* (*Aen.* 9.36, 783), an issue I revisit in Ch. 4.

⁸⁰ Evander's walls are mentioned again at *Aen.* 9.196, 241, and 11.140. Contrast Tibull. 2.5.23–4, where Evander's city is depicted at a time when 'Romulus had not yet built the city's everlasting walls' (*Romulus aeterna nondum formauerat urbis | moenia*). Virgil's readers would be more familiar with Romulus' *moenia Romae*: visible in the contemporary city were the stone walls of *Roma quadrata* believed to be Romulus' original fortifications (though in reality they date no earlier than the fourth century BC): Edwards (1996), 33.

⁸¹ Eden (1975) on *Aen.* 8.106, 110. Cf. Eden (1975) on *Aen.* 8.173 with W. W. Fowler (1918), 55. Numa 'is surely meant to be in the reader's mind as Evander welcomes Aeneas': Wiseman (1984), 123. With *pauperque senatus* (*Aen.* 8.105), cf. Ennius' Roman *sanctusque senatus* (*Ann.* 272). For Numa's lasting legacy, cf. *Ann.* 119, *si quid me fuerit humanitus, ut teneatis*. Aspects of Numa's reign of peace are coupled with Tullus Hostilius' reign of war: the community is often at war with its neighbours, fighting with the Etruscans and 'engaged in constant war with the Latin race' (*bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina* (*Aen.* 8.55)). On Ennius' own association with *fasti*, see Gildenhard (2003), 94–7; Rüpke (2006).

⁸² Wiseman (1984), 123, arguing that the lowing (*mugitus*) of the beasts places the reader near the Porta Mugionia and close to the contemporary Regia. For Evander's Numan frugality, see also *Aen.* 8.364–5.

⁸³ Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.86–7; Varro *Ling.* 7.3. Habinek (2005), 33, identifies the Salian hymn as 'a timeless prototype of all Roman song', linked with the notion of the foundation of Rome.

site of memory before the beginning of the canonical story of Roman history. Ennius, the author of the *Euhemerus*, had been interested in prehistoric Rome and seems to have included in the *Annales* some sort of prehistory of Latium that told the story of Saturn, perhaps in connection with the area's appellation as the 'Saturnian land' (*Saturnia terra* (Ann. 21)) from the time when Saturn hid there.⁸⁴ Evander tells Aeneas in similar terms how the site of his city, the 'Saturnian land' (*Saturnia tellus* (Aen. 8.329)), was once the home of Saturn, but he goes one step further, pointing to the landscape of Rome in pre-Ennian time. Settlements from the earliest part of mythical time before the establishment of the Olympian order have left their traces here, *reliquias ueterumque . . . monimenta uirorum* ('the relics and monuments of men of old' (8.356)). Drawing strikingly on Ennian Euhemeristic ideas of the gods as human kings settling the land, Evander points out the rubble (*disiectis oppida muris*, 'towns with their walls scattered in fragments' (8.355)) of Saturn's and Janus' settlements.⁸⁵

Premature memories of future Rome encroach even more thickly on the following day when Evander takes his guest on a tour of his territory to see its monuments (*uirum monimenta priorum* (8.312)). One of the key features of this passage which commentators frequently highlight is the way in which it calls into play a 'double consciousness' of memories of past and present associated with the familiar cityscape. Claudia Klodt makes the memorial significance of the tour itself particularly explicit, pointing out that, for Virgil's ancient readers, Evander's tour of future Rome acts out a familiar mnemonic technique of *loci memoriae*, a system of prompting the memory by means of analogy with the layout of monuments or buildings, citing in particular Quintilian's analogy between recollection and a journey through the rooms of a house (Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.17–21). The tour thus operates through an 'interaktiven Prozeß' in which the naming of each site brings into play the readers' own knowledge of topography, vividly calling to mind their own visual memories of the sites of Rome.⁸⁶ But memory of places is bound up with the stories associated with them, and in Roman epic that largely

⁸⁴ Ann. 23–4 (*Saturno | quem Caelus genuit*) and Ann. 25 (*cum †suo obsidio magnus Titanus premebat*) with Skutsch ad locc. See also Var. 94–7 Vahlen².

⁸⁵ The influence of Ennius' translation of Euhemerus on Evander's prehistory of Latium is posited by Johnston (1977), 64–7, who argues that 'Euhemerus' Saturnus is much more in evidence in the *Aeneid* than is Hesiod's Cronos' (p. 64).

⁸⁶ Klodt (2001), 17–18.

means the school-read stories from Ennius' *Annales*. The interactive process whereby the coexistence of the ancient and contemporary city is called into play, a technique whose seeds can be found in Ennius' consul simile in the augury fragment at *Annales* 72–91, therefore, also has a deep-rooted intertextual dimension: Evander's *monimenta* bring to the minds of Virgil's audience not just the space of the city but the canonical epic narrative of Rome, Ennius' *Annales*. In the process, the earlier poem becomes associated with the stories not of past but of future time (Evander and Aeneas get to Rome well before Ennius' Romulus), making the new poem, in a Bloomian flip of epic precursor and epic successor, appear to be 'first' to arrive on the site of Rome and tell its earliest, pre-Ennian stories.

Beginning his tour at the Carmental Gate, Evander points out two important monuments: ahead on the summit of the Capitol is the Asylum, and to the east is the Luperca:⁸⁷

hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Luperca
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycae.

Aen. 8.342–4

(From here he points to a huge grove, which fierce Romulus brought into new use as the Asylum, and under its cool rock the Luperca, named after Pan Lycaeus by Arcadian tradition.)

Instinctively, both these places are associated with the story of Romulus, the foundation myth told by Ennius, set long after the time of Evander.⁸⁸ The huge grove towards which the old man gestures is identified, in a footnote added by the narrator, with the asylum that Romulus would later establish there in one of the key episodes in the Roman foundation story.⁸⁹ *Rettulit* (8.343) 'brought to new use as' points to a reuse of the spot at a 'later' time, and readers would remember that time, in particular, as narrated in previous Roman

⁸⁷ The characters pass the 'Porta Carmentalis as the Romans call it' (*Carmentalem Romani nomine portam | quam memorant* (8.338–9)). We might remember that Romans call it another name, too, the *porta scelerata*, because 300 Fabii set out through it to their deaths in c.477 BC at the battle of Cremera. (The gate strictly would not have been there for Aeneas to pass through since it belongs to the Servian wall.)

⁸⁸ Fordyce (1977) on *Aen.* 8.337ff. notes the slip of logic: 'Evander had no reason to draw Aeneas' attention to the *ingens lucus* (342) for its own sake—its interest for Virgil's reader was what Evander did not know, that Romulus was to make it his Asylum'.

⁸⁹ 'a footnote added by Virgil speaking in *propria persona*': Eden (1975) on 342f.

epic by Ennius.⁹⁰ The Lupercal (to their right on the base of the Palatine (*gelida . . . sub rupe* (8.343)), seems at first to fall syntactically within the footnote added in the narrator's voice as well, so focalized through future time and referring to Romulus, too. The cave commemorates one of the most famous stories in Roman myth—again long after the time of Evander—of the miraculous suckling of Romulus and Remus by the she-wolf. The Lupercal site was restored by Augustus and would, therefore, have been freshly emphasized in contemporary conceptions of the space of Rome.⁹¹ On the shield of Aeneas at the close of this book, which parallels points on Evander's walking tour,⁹² this is in fact the first image described in Vulcan's Ennian summary of Roman history (*Aen.* 8.630–4), a scene which stands in for the long narrative of the Romulean foundation story that remains untold in the shield description (*Roma* is suddenly already founded in the next scene (8.635)).⁹³ When the poem approaches the site itself with Evander and Aeneas, the Ennian story is not told. We learn in the next line of the cave's earlier function in the cult of Pan Lycaeus, an Arcadian origin that is rooted in the land before the *Annales* ever got there, silently displacing the Ennian narrative associated with this location to a future time.⁹⁴

Ennian memories are evoked, too, only to be subconsciously sidelined as the characters move up towards the forum. Evander points out 'the sacred grove of Argiletum', *sacri . . . nemus Argileti* (8.345), and teaches Aeneas the story, linked with the area's name, that it was in this spot in which he was attacked by a malicious guest, insistently

⁹⁰ On the verb, which often carries the meaning of 'repeat', see Eden (1975) ad loc. For the key importance of the myth of Romulus' Asylum in conceptions of Roman identity, see Dench (2005).

⁹¹ *Mon. Anc.* 19 and *App.* 2. Cf. Eden (1975) on *Aen.* 8.343.

⁹² Gransden (1976) on 8.630–41.

⁹³ For the scene's likely Ennian origins, see sect. III. Eden on *Aen.* 8.630–66 notes that 'both in particular detail and in general structure the shield has more points of contact with the fragmentary *Annales* than it has as description with any single surviving work of art'.

⁹⁴ On some accounts the Lupercal got its name from *lupa* in the Romulus myth, an etymology that Virgil seems to be hinting at in *Aen.* 8.630–1, 'in spite of his earlier statement of the alternative version' (Eden (1975) on 8.630). Another reminder of Romulus in Rome that would have evoked the world of the *Annales* is Romulus' hut, found in the future Rome of Vulcan's shield (8.654), but finding its predecessor already in Evander's Rome, where Evander's small thatched hut (8.359–61) rivals the 'future' *casa Romuli*: Binder (1971), 139. On the importance of the hut in Rome (or rather huts: there were two), evoking the archaic city, see esp. Edwards (1996), 32–43.

calling the place itself to witness as a guardian of the memory (8.346). But perhaps the immediate reason why the area would be thought of as *sacer* by a contemporary audience is that this is one of what Grimal calls the 'lieux sacrés' of Augustan Rome, the location of the ancient wooden temple of Janus and the Gates of War, again set after Evander's time.⁹⁵ These, too, were restored in the Augustan period and the doors famously closed twice by Augustus as part of his great *res gestae* (in 29 BC, as Octavian, and later in 25 BC (*Mon. Anc.* 3)).⁹⁶ This place, once again, is resonant not simply of Roman history, early and contemporary, but of past epic. Janus' temple doors come up in a famous pair of lines from the *Annales* (quoted by Horace (*Sat.* 1.4.60–1) as an example of indestructible poetry) in which 'Discordia' breaks open the Gates of War:⁹⁷

postquam Discordia taetra
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit
Ann. 225–6⁹⁸

(after foul Discord
shattered the iron-bound door-posts and gates of war)

In the *Aeneid*'s ghostly version of pre-Rome, the grove is shown before the temple's foundation.⁹⁹ Instead, the epic Gates of War have already made their 'first' prehistoric appearance in Italy in *Aeneid* 7, not on the site of Rome, where they can be still be seen now (*nunc* (7.602)), but displaced in time and place to the territory of Latinus somewhere else in *Hesperia* (7.601–22).

The climax of Evander's tour of Rome is the Capitol, falling, with line 347, at the exact centre of the tour passage:¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Grimal (1948). *LTUR* i.125–6. The foundation of the Temple of Janus was traditionally ascribed either to Numa (Livy 1.19.2) or earlier (Ov. *Fast.* 1.265–76; Serv. on *Aen.* 1.291 with Holland (1961), 109). For the temple, see *LTUR* iii.93; Holland (1961), 108–37.

⁹⁶ Jupiter refers to this time in the future at *Aen.* 1.293–4.

⁹⁷ I treat the fragment and the debate surrounding it in more detail in Ch. 4, sect. IV.1.

⁹⁸ = Hor. *Sat.* 1.40.60; Porphyryon ad loc.; Pseudo-Acro ad loc.; Serv. on *Aen.* 7.622 (*Ann.* 226).

⁹⁹ Janus himself, however, has been to Virgil's Italy, leaving the rubble of his city along with his name on the Janiculum (8.357–8), and his statue among the ancestor gallery in the forecourt of Latinus' palace (7.180–1).

¹⁰⁰ Calculated by Gransden (1976) ad loc. Binder (1971), 131, points to the arrival at the Capitol as the real accomplishment of the teleological purpose of Aeneas' mission.

hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
 aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis.
 iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestis
 dira loci, iam tum siluam saxumque tremebant.
 'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso uertice collem
 (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
 credunt se uidisse Iouem, cum saepe nigrantem
 aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.'

Aen. 8.347–54

(From here he leads Aeneas to the house of Tarpeia and the Capitol, all gold now, but once bristling with woodland scrub. Even then the dreadful awe of the place terrified the fearful country people, even then they shuddered at the wood and rock. 'This grove,' he said, 'this hill with its leafy top is the home of a god (though what god it is, we do not know); the Arcadians think that they have seen Jupiter himself, when, as often, he shook with his right hand the dark aegis and stirred up the storm clouds.')

Perhaps the most evocative site of Roman history, the Capitol is *the* holy place of Rome. The end point of the triumphal procession, the hill was home to many gods, but most famously dominated by the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.¹⁰¹ The hill's name was traditionally derived from the discovery of a human head during foundation-digging for this temple, an omen interpreted by Etruscan and Roman *uates* as a token of Rome's future greatness (the first attestation is Fabius Pictor).¹⁰² Here, too, the *Aeneid* partly erases the pioneering presence of the *Annales* on the loaded site, planting itself 'first' in the memorial landscape of Rome. The location is identified by

¹⁰¹ Tacitus famously describes the violation of the site of the Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in AD 69 during fighting between Vitellius and the Flavian party as a national trauma: *facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimum-que rei publicae populi Romani accidit*, 'this evil deed was the most grievous and foul to have befallen the republic of the people of Rome since the foundation of the city' (*Hist.* 3.72.1). The hill was also the location of the *aedes Iouis Feretri*, the first temple to be consecrated in Rome (Livy 1.10.7), a moment described by Ennius (*Ann.* 1.II Skutsch (= Schol. Bern. on G. 2.384)). For the Capitol as an ancient and modern site of memory, see esp. F. Hölscher (2006); see also Edwards (1996) 69–95; Hölkeskamp (2004), 144–51; Hölkeskamp (2006), 488; Rea (2007), 44–63; Gallia (2012), ch. 2. For the close link between the temple and the hill, see F. Hölscher (2006), 83. The numinous sense the Etruscans have of Jupiter shaking his aegis and making it stormy also brings in a premonition of the Augustan landscape in the form of the Temple of *Iuppiter Tonans*, dedicated by Augustus in 22 BC: Binder (1971), 132–3.

¹⁰² *FRH* 1, 16 = 12 Peter.

toponyms from future, Ennian time: *Tarpeiam sedem* (8.347) associates the place with later Romulean Rome, like the name *Capitolium*, which would date from the temple construction under the Tarquins, an event that would fall within the scope of Book 3 of the *Annales*. *Capitolium* could be used to refer both to the hill and the temple itself, as it initially seems to be here (*Capitolia . . . | aurea* (8.347–8)).¹⁰³ But the built-up Capitol, including the temple which could be seen in its golden splendour by Virgil's contemporary audience ('all gold now', *aurea nunc* (8.348)), is bristling with woodland scrub, putting it firmly before the Ennian history of the development of Rome.¹⁰⁴ This hill, in particular, is an important historical *lieu de mémoire*. The site features in the two most overtly historical moments in the *Aeneid*, both of which constitute a kind of précis of Ennius' *Annales*: the parade of heroes in the underworld, as the goal of the *triumphator's* procession through the city of Rome and the 'high Capitol' (*Capitolia . . . alta* (6.836)), and the shield of Aeneas, where Manlius saves the 'high Capitol' (*Capitolia celsa*) from the attack of the Gauls (8.653).¹⁰⁵ In Book 9 of the *Aeneid*, Virgil, moreover, makes an explicit link between the longevity of his poem and the stability of the site:

fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aevo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

Aen. 9.446–9

(Lucky pair! If my poetry has any power, the day will never come that will erase you from remembering time, as long as the house of Aeneas lives on the immovable rock of the Capitol and the father of Rome keeps his empire.)

Binding the poem and its narrative to Roman soil at a time 'before' Ennius is one of the things that ensure the *Aeneid's* association with the deep past linked with Roman space and a position in 'remembering time'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *LTUR* i.227. The plural *Capitolia* may go back to Ennius: Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.836.

¹⁰⁴ The seeds of envisaging the Roman cityscape as scrub go back to Naevius' vision of sheep bleating on the Palatine (28 Str. = 28 *FPL*).

¹⁰⁵ As a précis of Ennius, this is perhaps misleading, since the *Annales* seem to have included a version of history in which the Gauls did in fact reach the Capitol: see *Ann.* 227–8 with Skutsch ad loc.

¹⁰⁶ This does not necessarily mean immortality in an unquestionably eternal city, since hints of the 'mutability of Rome' in the form of the rubble of previously founded cities are to be found on the site too: Hardie (1992); Feeney (2007), 163–5.

V. CONCLUSION

In *Invisible Cities* (*Le città invisibili* (1972)), Italo Calvino's narrator, 'Marco Polo', is at a loss to describe one of the cities he has visited:

I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades' curves . . . but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between its spaces and the events of its past.¹⁰⁷

Like Marco Polo's fictional city, the spaces of the city of Rome and its river were inextricably linked with the events of its past. In Pierre Nora's terms, Rome is a city full of *lieux de mémoire*. For the *Aeneid*'s early readers, a crucial part of the memory of the events of Rome's past, linked with Rome's spaces, had been canonized in the school-learned *Annales* of Ennius. Virgil brings his hero to this place before those stories ever existed, planting his own epic version of the foundation legend 'first' on the soil of Rome. More than literary self-positioning, then, the poem deploys intertextuality in its appropriation of cultural memory, locating itself on the soil and sites, and therefore, too, in the memory of Rome, as the 'first' epic of Rome's

foundation.

¹⁰⁷ Calvino (1997), 9.

‘Punica’

I. INTRODUCTION

Perhaps as important as space and its myths for the collective memory of a community are memories of shared struggle against a common enemy. As Antony Smith argues, war can become one of the fundamental builders of nationhood, playing

[a] central role . . . as a mobilizer of ethnic sentiments, of national consciousness, a centralizing force in the life of the community, and a provider of myths and memories for future generations.¹

Smith’s comments characterize the ‘memory-nation’ of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.² But large-scale combat also played a particularly fundamental role in the memory cultures of Greek and Roman antiquity, mobilizing ‘national’ consciousness and providing myths and memories for future generations. The Persian Wars—highlighted by the battles of Thermopylae or Marathon—permeated modes of commemoration and identity formation in Greek culture.³ For Rome, too, the Punic Wars performed a crucial function, fundamentally shaping not just Roman history but Roman memory.⁴ The First Punic War (264–241 BC), ‘the longest, most continuous, and greatest war known to us’,⁵ stimulated unprecedented collective effort,

¹ Smith (1991), 27.

² Olick (2003), 2.

³ ‘Persia gave the Greeks their identity, or the means for recognizing it’ (Hornblower (1991), 11). On the Persian Wars and Greek memory, cf. Alcock (2002); Bridges, Hall, and Rhodes (2007).

⁴ On Carthage and the Punic Wars in Roman memory, see, esp. O’Gorman (2004); Beck (2006); Bücher (2006), 196–207; Brizzi (2011).

⁵ πόλεμος ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀκοῇ μαθόντες πολυχρονιώτατος καὶ συνεχέστατος καὶ μέγιστος (Polyb. 1.63.4).

and saw the build-up from virtually nothing of a massive capacity for fighting at sea beyond the boundaries of the Italian shoreline; in the end, Rome defeated Carthage to gain Sicily as its first province, something which in retrospect could be seen as the first step to world empire. The Second Punic War (218–201 BC) saw Hannibal fulfilling a boyhood oath sworn to his father by crossing the Alps into Italy itself, a Roman nightmare that brought him to the very gates of the city of Rome, giving him a prominent place in Roman collective remembrance as the 'bogeyman' for generations of children to come.⁶ The Third (149–146 BC), though not long drawn out, could be seen symbolically as a great trilogy's end, culminating in the final eradication of Carthage by Scipio Aemilianus. All three wars, but particularly the first two, became powerfully embedded in Roman memory. The traumas and triumphs of the great generations of the past—men such as M. Atilius Regulus, C. Duilius, and Scipio Africanus, who 'stained the sea with Punic blood . . . and laid terrible Hannibal low'⁷—became crucial to Rome's collective memory and identity. From battlefield *lieux de mémoire* to monuments in the city, from 'black days' in the calendar to oral tradition and the beginnings of literature, the Punic Wars were a pervasive element in Rome's culture of memory.⁸

War, too, is the defining subject matter of epic (Hor. *Ars P.* 73–4). In the two most important Roman epics after Livius' *Odussia*—Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and Ennius' *Annales*—the genre's characteristic subject matter had moved from the Homeric Trojan War and its heroes to more recent wars in Roman history. The *Bellum Punicum*, a poem on the First Punic War, clearly ensured lasting association with the Punic Wars by virtue of its title and topic.⁹ Ennius was likewise remembered in association with the Second Punic War as the author of Books 7–9 of the *Annales* and the non-epic *Scipio*.¹⁰

⁶ For Hannibal's oath, see e.g. Polyb. 3.11.7. For Hannibal as Roman 'bogeyman', see e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 16.8 with Horsfall (1973), 138 ('at the very mention of Hannibal's name, parents averted the evil omen from their young'); Juv. 10.156 ff.; Sil. *Pun.* 16.19 (*Hannibalis sat nomen erat* ('Hannibal's name was enough')); Otto (1890) s.v. 'Hannibal'; Lancel (1999), 211–24; Beck (2006); Brizzi (2011); and cf. Ch. 1 sect. II.

⁷ *infecit aequor sanguine Punico | . . . cecidit . . . | Hannibalem . . . dirum* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.33–6).

⁸ Cf. Gell. 5.17.5 with Bücher (2006), 204, on the anniversary of Cannae as an ill-omened day.

⁹ Naevius also fought in the First Punic War and said as much in his epic: Gell. 17.21.44 (drawing on Varro's *De poetis*).

¹⁰ The evidence for Ennius' original personal connection with the Scipiones is problematic (Zetzel (2007), 14–16), but the idea was significant for later readers:

Citations of the poem show that the Punic parts of the epic were well known in the first century BC, and it is tellingly Ennius as a poet of and in the Second Punic War that Silius Italicus, one of Virgil's most interesting readers (to whom I shall return in this chapter) later chose to resurrect in his *Punica*. Essentially, for the *Aeneid*'s initial audience, the first two Punic Wars were an integral part not only of Roman memory but also of early Republican epic's martial theme.

It has long been noted that despite the monumental significance of the Carthaginian Wars in Roman history and the two most famous historical epics in the early Roman canon, in the most explicitly 'historical' moments in the *Aeneid*—Jupiter's prophecy to Venus (*Aen.* 1.254–96), the parade of heroes (*Aen.* 6.756–887), and the ecphrasis of the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.626–728)—the Punic Wars are given either a minor role, or no role at all. Though critics have attempted to explain the omissions away in various ways, it remains true that in the description of Aeneas' shield, the Punic Wars are a notorious gap. Jupiter's prophecy, too, omits them, and though among the throng of future Romans in the parade of heroes Anchises mentions the Scipiones, 'the ruin of Carthage' (*cladem Libyae* (6.843)), the spirit of the elder Marcellus, who 'will lay the Phoenicians low' (*sternet Poenos* (6.858)), and Quintus Fabius Maximus 'Cunctator' (6.845–6), the presence of the wars is nevertheless downplayed given their importance in Roman history. It is for this reason that Wigodsky dismissed the impact on Virgil's poem of the Punic Wars in Ennius and Naevius with the startling conclusion that 'Virgil is not interested in the Punic Wars as such', and therefore uninterested in their depictions by his earlier rivals.¹¹ Wigodsky was wrong to shrug off the *Aeneid*'s interest in Rome's wars with Carthage. Though muffled or absent in the famous prophetic passages, they are very much a presence in Virgil's poem. Romano-Punic antagonism haunts the epic, from the prominent statement in the proem of Juno's hatred for Rome because fated to arise through Africa's downfall (*excidio Libyae* (*Aen.* 1.22)) and

Cicero (*Arch.* 22), Livy (38.56.4), and Ovid (*Ars* 3.409–10) knew of a statue in the tomb of the Scipiones that was thought (*putatur* (Cic. *Arch.* 22); *dicuntur* (Livy 38.56.4)) to depict Ennius: Suerbaum (1968), 210–14. (The reserve suggests that the statue would probably not have been identified by an inscription: Courtney *FLP*, p. 43.) Cf. also e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.13–22 on the Muses of Calabria commemorating Scipio with Kiessling-Heinze (1930) ad loc., and cf. *Carm.* 2.12.1–4 on the First and Second Punic Wars as themes for poetry.

¹¹ Wigodsky (1972), 29.

thereby dash her hopes for Carthage as a future world power, to Dido's famous invocation in a curse of Hannibal as her future avenger at the end of *Aeneid* 4 (4.625–7) and Jupiter's prophetic hint at a time in the future when Carthage will open up the Alps to invade the Roman citadels (10.11–14).¹² As is likely to have been even clearer to the first generation of Virgil's readers, early Roman epic's treatment of the First and Second Punic Wars plays an undeniable role in this. As Denis Feeney, drawing on the Servian commentary, adeptly argued, Juno's hatred for the nascent Rome showcased in the proem to the *Aeneid* and culminating in her reconciliation in *Aeneid* 12 (791–842) must prefigure her role in the Punic War narrative of the *Annales*. As Feeney shows, when Jupiter tells Venus at *Aeneid* 1.281 that Juno will change her plans for the better (*consilia in melius referet*), with the explanation given by Servius that this is a reference to her role in the *Annales*, *quia bello Punico secundo, ut Ennius ait, placata Iuno coepit fauere Romanis* ('because in the Second Punic War, as Ennius says, Juno, having been placated, began to favour the Romans'), the implication is that 'if Juno was placated, she had been hostile' in the earlier poem on the side of Carthage and Hannibal.¹³ Moreover, 'the whole context' of Juno's favour for Carthage in the proem to the *Aeneid* and her eventual reconciliation, 'anticipates the *Annales*'.¹⁴ Adding only briefly to Feeney here, it is, in the end, the story of *Annales* Books 7–9 that Dido's curse prophesies, and, in effect, it is Ennius' poetic subject matter that Jupiter forbids the gods to engage in prematurely in the divine council of *Aeneid* 10, when he appeals to a time in the future for the gods to make war with the *Aeneadae* with a clear reference to Hannibal (*Aen.* 10.12–14).

Most other investigation of the topic of early Republican epic and the Punic Wars in the *Aeneid* has tended to focus on the possibility or otherwise of a Dido episode in Naevius, which would, as in Virgil, have functioned as an *aition* for the Punic Wars.¹⁵ But, though tempting,

¹² The idea that, despite the gap in the summary passages, Carthage plays an enigmatic but significant role in the *Aeneid* has been stressed since Wigodsky: Horsfall (1974); Feeney (1984); E. L. Harrison (1984); Syed (2005); Reed (2007).

¹³ Feeney (1984), 179. Cf. also Serv. on *Aen.* 1.20 (*audierat*): *in Ennio enim inducitur Iuppiter promittens Romanis excidium Carthaginis*, 'for in Ennius Jupiter is shown promising the Romans that Carthage will be overthrown'.

¹⁴ Feeney (1984), 181. E. L. Harrison (1984), published in the same year as Feeney, similarly emphasizes Juno as the Carthaginian link.

¹⁵ So e.g. Horsfall (1973–4). For further bibliography on the issue, see Suerbaum (2002), 113. Buchheit (1963) is a notable exception to the trend.

the evidence is in the end too slim to substantiate any conclusion. This chapter looks elsewhere to argue that the Carthaginian Wars in the *Aeneid* should be seen as fundamentally bound up with the two earliest poems on Roman history written in the same genre, Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and Ennius' *Annales*. Setting out first the main aspects of what we know of the Punic narratives of the two earlier epics, I take the issue of Naevian and Ennian Punic traces beyond the largely Dido-centred preoccupation of earlier studies, focusing in particular on the representation of Sicily in the *Aeneid* and the War in Italy in the second half of the poem. Sicily plays an unusually large role in the *Aeneid*, much larger than in other accounts of the Aeneas legend, as the location of both Anchises' death and the commemoration games in his honour one year on, the narrative of which spans the whole of Book 5. One virtually unexplored motivation for the focus on Sicily, as I show, is that the island is the quintessential location of the First Punic War, whose geography as presented in the *Aeneid* is designed to evoke Naevian and Ennian narratives, anchoring the poem as 'first' on the site. Juno's involvement in the War in Italy, as Feeney well noted, interacts with the *Annales* and her favour for Carthage there. But, as I argue in Section IV, the war in the second half of the *Aeneid* is linked more deeply with the Ennian narrative of the Hannibalic War, another war characterized as one fought largely on the soil of Italy for the future of Rome.

II. 'PUNICA' IN ENNIUS AND NAEVIUS

In a poem probably written in the late second century BC, Porcius Licinus summed up the beginnings of Roman poetry:¹⁶

Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.

(In the second Punic War, the Muse with winged step brought herself,
full of war, to the savage race of Romulus.)¹⁷

¹⁶ = Gell. 17.21.45. Courtney *FLP*, p. 85.

¹⁷ There has also been some debate as to whether *bellicosam* is to be taken with *se* or *gentem*, but it is probably best taken with *se*, or at least *apo koinou* with both: see esp. Courtney *FLP*, p. 85 (in favour of *se*).

The referent of these lines—Naevius, Ennius, or Roman literature in general?—has been a subject of much debate.¹⁸ The words *Poenico bello* evoke the title of Naevius' epic,¹⁹ and the evidence of the Gellian context has been seen to point to Naevius, whose *Bellum Punicum*, though about the First Punic War, is thought to have been written during the Second.²⁰ There is also a reasonable case that Porcius was thinking of Ennius, too, as the self-styled importer of the Muse and author of Books 7–9 of the *Annales* as well as the non-epic *Scipio*, both on the Second Punic War.²¹ Whatever Porcius originally had in mind, one of the things the fragment neatly brings out is that early Roman poetry (symbolized by the *Musa bellicosa*) is anchored in Rome's wars with Carthage.²²

The *Bellum Punicum*, divided posthumously into only seven books, was short by comparison with other epic.²³ Around sixty fragments survive, the maximum length of which is three lines, which means that complete and accurate knowledge of the original narrative remains out of reach. Though context involves some speculation, there is evidence that the poem contained a declaration of war against Carthage in 264 BC with reference to the *fetiales* (2 Str. = 35 FPL, attested without book number) and a description of the subsequent crossing of the Roman army to Messana on the north-east coast of

¹⁸ Courtney FLP, pp. 82–6; Suerbaum (2002), 289–90; Goldberg (2005), 22–3; Welsh (2011) with further bibliography.

¹⁹ Courtney FLP, p. 85; Goldberg (2005), 23 n. 9.

²⁰ Courtney FLP, pp. 84–6; Goldberg (2005), 23; contested by Welsh (2011), 40–2. The only real evidence for the date of Naevius' epic is Cicero's remark (*Sen.* 50) that the poem was the delight of the poet's old age.

²¹ See esp. Skutsch (1970), 121. Further bibliography in Suerbaum (2002), 289. Welsh (2011), 42 n. 36, excludes the possibility that Porcius refers to Ennius, since 'the chronology is wrong', but Skutsch's argument is based on poetic subject matter rather than chronology.

²² For the *Musa bellicosa* as symbolic of epic specifically, see Skutsch (1970), 120–1. Welsh (2011) argues for poetry in general, since Porcius' original readers would not necessarily have associated epic alone with war; but the idea that 'war and literature . . . [are joined] at the hip' in early Roman poetry, signalling 'a way of thinking about the centrality of war in mid-Republican society, and a way that poet-scholars put their art in the thick of that construction of Roman identity' (43, 48–9) nonetheless prominently applies to Rome's earliest martial epic poets.

²³ According to Suetonius, C. Octavius Lampadio divided the poem into seven books, which he found set out in a single book-roll (*uno volumine et continenti scriptura*) (*Gram.* 2.2 with Kaster (1995) ad loc.). Estimates of the total length range from no more than c.2,000 lines (Suerbaum (1992); (2002), 112) to c.4,000–5,000 lines (Leo (1913), 81, on the analogy of the first seven books of the *Iliad*; Skutsch, p. 369 (c.4,000 lines in one scroll)).

Sicily (3 Str. = 3 *FPL*, attested for Book 1 and referring to Manius Valerius, cos. 263, crossing with an army to Sicily). Books 1–3 were further occupied by an account, perhaps embedded in flashback, of the departure of Aeneas from Troy and arrival in Italy, taking the narrative at least up to the birth of Romulus, and probably the foundation of Rome.²⁴

Naevius' account of the battles of the First Punic War spanning the rest of the *Bellum Punicum*, however, must have left a haunting impression on succeeding Roman epics. Though little of the battle narrative now survives, its existence clearly troubled Ennius. In the major proem to *Annales* 7, which introduces a triad covering the period of the first two Punic Wars, he pauses to take issue with Naevius:

scripsere alii rem
uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant
Ann. 206–7

(others have written on the topic in verses which once the Fauns and seers used to sing)

Despite his scorn of previous treatments, instead of giving a full-scale account of the First Punic War, Ennius apparently 'passed over', in some way, the battles Naevius had already covered. Cicero chides the poet in the *Brutus*:

sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior: qui si illum, ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. sed ipse dicit cur id faciat. 'scripsere' inquit 'alii rem uorsibus'; et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiam si minus quam tu polite. nec uero tibi aliter uideri debet, qui a Naeuio uel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, uel, si negas, surripuisti. (76)

(Let Ennius be, as he assuredly is, the more perfect in execution: yet if he really despised Naevius as he pretends, he would not, in undertaking to narrate all our wars, have passed over that most sharply contested First

²⁴ Str., pp. 61–2. *Bellum Punicum* 5 Str. = 5 *FPL* (the wives of Aeneas and Anchises weeping as they leave Troy); 6 Str. = 6 *FPL* (Aeneas' many followers); 7 Str. = 7 *FPL* (Aeneas' ship built by Mercury); 25 Str. = 25 *FPL* (Anchises' prophetic powers); 26 Str. = 26 *FPL* (Amulius); 27 Str. = 27 *FPL* (*testimonium* for Romulus as Aeneas' grandson). The structure of Naevius' poem is a subject of much debate; Goldberg (1995), 51–2, usefully reiterates the most plausible case for seeing the legendary material as originally embedded in the historical account, as suggested by transmitted book numbers.

Punic War. But he tells us himself why he does so: 'Others', he says, 'have written on the topic in verses'; yes they have—and splendidly, too—even if they did it with less polish than you. And you should not, indeed, think otherwise: there is much from Naevius that you have taken up, if you confess your debt, or if you deny it, much that you have stolen.)

One of the things Ennius seems to have stolen without confessing it was part of the story of the First Punic War. A number of surviving fragments quoted by a wide variety of sources make it probable that, though he may have passed over the battles themselves, Ennius did treat the First Punic War in some sort of shorter form. *Appius indixit Carthaginiensibus bellum* ('Appius declared war on the Carthaginians' (*Ann.* 216)), refers to the declaration of the First Punic War (conceivably hinting at Naevius 2 Str. = 35 *FPL*). Moreover, evidence supported by a number of fragments also points to an account of the acquisition of naval power during the First Punic War, which led to Rome's position as a sea power on the world stage in its later history.²⁵ The poem may also have included an *Origo Carthaginis*, telling briefly of the city's foundation by Dido and its history up to the beginning of the wars with Rome.²⁶

It is the Second Punic War, however, which Naevius did not narrate, that constitutes the material for a substantial part of the *Annales*, making up most of Books 7–9. After a second major proem and partial account of the First Punic War, it seems that the action of *Annales* 7 began with an account of events between 241 BC and the start of the Second Punic War in 218 BC. Among surviving fragments on the Hannibalic War we can get glimpses of key events: the siege of

²⁵ *Ann.* 217 (*urserat huc nauim compulsam fluctibus pontus*, 'the sea had driven the ship here, beaten by the waves'); *Ann.* 218 (*poste recumbite uestraque pectora pellite tonsis*, 'then lean back and beat your chests with the oars'); *Ann.* 219 (*pone petunt, exim referunt ad pectora tonsas*, 'they reach back, then pull the oars back up to their chests'). *Ann.* 462 may also describe the ship the Romans used to model their fleet (Skutsch, pp. 368, 619). For Ennius' naval training and the ship race in *Aeneid* 5, see sect. III.ii.

²⁶ Skutsch, p. 379. *Ann.* 213, according to Skutsch, refers to an episode in the fourth century BC, when the Carthaginians sent Hamilcar Rhodanus to Alexander after the capture of Tyre (between 332 and 330/29 BC), while *Ann.* 214 constitutes ethnographical observation on the blood-chilling customs of the Punic 'other' (*Poeni soliti suos sacrificare puellios*, 'the Phoenicians, accustomed to sacrifice their own little children'); *Ann.* 215, perhaps part of the episode, too, refers to the Carthaginian habit of hiring mercenaries). *Ann.* 472 on the Punic lineage from Dido (*Poenos Sarra oriundos*) has also been assigned to the episode by Tomasco (= *Ann.* 233 Flores).

Saguntum in 219 BC (*falarica* (Ann. 557) is probably from here);²⁷ and *Annales* 236–7 attested for Book 7 (*denique ui magna quadrupes, eques atque elephanti | proiciunt sese*, ‘finally the quadruped formations, cavalry and elephants, rush forward with great force’), which with its elephants and cavalry should probably be assigned to the battle of Trebia. *Annales* 240–1 has been persuasively positioned as the *lectisternium* of 217 BC after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene; a fragment possibly telling of Hannibal’s terrifying march against Rome in 211 BC survives (*ob Romam noctu legiones ducere coepit*, ‘he began to lead his troops to Rome during the night’ (Ann. 292)), as does a fragment of one of his battle speeches (Ann. 234–5), while Book 9 must have covered the Roman invasion of Africa (Ann. 309: *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu*, ‘the land of Africa trembled, shuddering with the terrible tumult’, probably comes from this book).

As Cicero seems precociously to have sensed in the passage from the *Brutus* already quoted, the Punic Wars were a cause of Bloomian ‘anxiety of influence’ in early Roman epic. As the successor of Naevius and Ennius, the *Aeneid*, too, would need to deal with this moment in Roman collective consciousness, which, for its first readers, would have been crucially bound up with the two earliest Roman historical epics.

III. SICILY

Sizilien . . . hier ist erst der Schlüssel zu allem.
Sicily is the key to everything.

(Goethe, *Italienische Reise*)

Despite the gaps in our knowledge of the poem, one clear aspect of the *Bellum Punicum* is that, like the First Punic War it described, the poem was located substantially on and around the island of Sicily. As already noted, Naevius’ first book told of the start of the war in Messana on the north-east coast of the island, when the Roman army crossed the straits on allied ships with the aim of raising the joint Carthaginian and Syracusan siege and preventing it from falling into Carthaginian hands.

²⁷ On *falarica*, see Skutsch on Ann. 557. Spanish fighters are also the probable topic of Ann. 239: *deducunt habiles gladios filo gracilento* (‘they draw out handy swords of slender thread’).

The poem must then have covered the major events of the war in Sicilian geography: the large-scale siege of Agrigentum, the Roman victory at the huge naval battle off Cape Ecnomus which allowed Regulus to cross to Africa, Roman setbacks at sea at Camerina, on the south coast, and at Lilybaeum and Drepanum in the north-west tip, with ultimate victory at sea just west of there in the battle of the Aegates Islands. In addition, an account of Aeneas' journey from Troy to Italy was inserted into Books 1 and 2. How it was framed we do not know, but the two main suggestions are that the back-narrative was prompted, too, by some place in Sicily: either murals at the Temple of Zeus in Agrigentum or the mention of Segesta, traditionally founded by the Trojans, and the first Sicilian city to side with Rome in the First Punic War.²⁸

Like Rome, Sicily, in Pierre Nora's terms, was a 'site of memory' for Roman readers, a location which evoked fundamentally the stories of the First Punic War and their commemoration in the Roman epics they had read, and Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* above all. Working within the same genre, the *Aeneid* revisits the site in an unusually lengthy way, spending more time on the island than earlier versions of the Aeneas legend would justify. As I argue in this section, the *Aeneid* is highly conscious of the power of Sicily's geography to evoke the First Punic War and the epic stories associated with it.²⁹

i. Periegesis

The first time we see Aeneas and his fleet, they are 'just out of sight of Sicily' (*uix e conspectu Siculae telluris* (1.34)). The island's association with the Punic Wars and the *Bellum Punicum* is signalled in the poem from the outset. Seeing them sailing near Sicily, Juno instigates a storm, which, Servius and Macrobius knew from their sources, had a Naevian source.³⁰ A further hint may come when we are given, too, a detailed description of the reef of rock, 'which the Italians call *Arae*' (*Aen.*

²⁸ Buchheit (1963), 52–3, with Klotz (1938).

²⁹ Layers of more recent memory, too, would be evoked by Sicily, including the war against Sextus Pompey: on the relevance of this to Virgil's Sicily, see A. Powell (2008), 87–131. The content of Augustus' one-book hexameter poem *Sicilia* (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2), or what its relevance to Virgil's Sicily may have been, remains tantalizingly unknown. (Cornelius Severus' *Bellum Siculum* probably dates to the end of Augustus' reign or even after his death (Hollis (2007), 350).)

³⁰ *Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 1.198; Macrobi. *Sat.* 6.2.30–1, also identifying Naevius as a source for the meeting between Venus and Jupiter. Naevius mentioned Aeneas' ship,

1.109), upon which the Trojan ships are driven during the first storm scene, since one *aition* for the name is the reef's function as a boundary marker after the First Punic War between the territories of the two powers: *haec autem saxa inter Africam, Siciliam et Sardiniam et Italiam sunt, quae saxa ob hoc Itali aras uocant, quod ibi Afri et Romani foedus inierunt et fines imperii sui illic esse uoluerunt* ('These rocks lie between Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy. The Italians call them "The Altars", since that is where the Africans and Romans entered into a treaty and agreed that the bounds of their empires should lie there').³¹

The first extended treatment of Sicily appears at the close of Aeneas' narrative in Book 3. The Trojan fleet, avoiding Scylla and Charybdis on Helenus' instructions (3.410–32), sails around the coast of the island from the east to its western corner. After a stop on the shore of the Cyclopes by Aetna (where the poem has its closest brush with the world of the *Odyssey*), the journey moves 'away from the fabulous world . . . back to the real world'.³² It comes in the form of a catalogue description of Sicily, moving from east to west (3.692–708):

Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra
 Plemyrrium undosum; nomen dixere priores
 Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
 occultas egisse uias subter mare, qui nunc
 ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.
 iussi numina magna loci ueneramur, et inde
 exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori.
 hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni
 radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moueri
 apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi,
 immanisque Gela fluuii cognomine dicta.
 arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
 moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum;
 teque datis linquo uentis, palmosa Selinus,

built by Mercury (*Serv. Dan. on Aen.* 1.170), and may also have been a source for Aeneas' speech of encouragement to his men (*Serv. Dan. on Aen.* 1.198).

³¹ Servius on 1.108. *uocant* typically footnotes earlier traditions: see Horsfall (1991a), 121. For early Roman epic and the First Punic War in this scene with particular reference to Roman naval experience, see now Leigh (2010).

³² R. D. Williams (1960) on *Aen.* 3.692f. On the striking forward-looking 'anachronism' of the passage (none of the cities Aeneas mentions by name can have existed at this time) cf. also *Serv. on Aen.* 3.703; R. D. Williams (1960) on *Aen.* 3.703f. and 704 (*quondam*); Horsfall (2006), 461.

et uada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.
hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
accipit.

(Stretched in front of the bay of Syracuse, opposite wave-beaten Plemyr-ium, there lies an island; men of old called it Ortygia. The story goes that Alpheus, the river of Elis, forced a hidden course here under the sea and now mingles with Sicilian waters at your fountain, Arethusa. Obeying instructions, we worship the great gods of the place and I then pass the rich soil of marshy Helorus. From here we skirt the high reefs and jutting rocks of Pachynus, and Camerina came into view in the distance, forbidden to be moved by the fates, and the Geloan plains and Gela itself, called after the turbulent river. Then in the distance high Acragas shows its great walls, once the breeder of high-mettled horses. Next, with favourable winds granted, I leave you behind, palm-girt Selinus, and skirt the pitiless shoals of Lilybaeum with their hidden rocks. Then the unhappy shore and port of Drepanum receive me.)

The places mentioned (the bay of Syracuse (692–6); Helorus and Cape Pachynus (698–9); Camerina and Gela (701–2); Agrigentum (703–4); Selinus and Lilybaeum (705–6); and finally the bay of Drepanum (707)) are presented with self-advertised learning and etymological erudition—wave-beaten Plemyr-ium (*Plemyr-ium undosum* (693)), referring to the name's origin from *πλημυρίς*, 'tide'; marshy Helorus (698) from *ἔλος*, 'marsh'; high Acragas (*arduus Acragas* (703)) from *ἄκρος*, 'highest', 'topmost'—and aetiological myth (Alpheus and Arethusa and the mythical fate of Camerina). Since Geymonat, Callimachus tends to be seen as the crucial figure in the passage's literary background, but the picture is more complex.³³ As Horsfall points out, while 'analogies of manner may be drawn' with the *Aetia*, apart from *Aeneid* 3.700–1, 'specific indebtedness may be harder to prove'. Even if Callimachus was originally part of the passage's intertextual background, the bilingual material actually suggests 'that Virgil's proximate source must be Latin'.³⁴ For Horsfall, Varro is a possible contender, but there is no reason why early Roman epic, often used by Varro, also interested in etymology and also interested in Sicily, should not be equally plausible as potential background to the passage.³⁵

³³ For Callimachus, see Geymonat (1993); Thomas (1999), 218; Nappa (2004).

³⁴ Horsfall (2006), 462, 460.

³⁵ For etymologizing in Naevius, see 13 Str. = 12 *FPL* (Prochyta), 28 Str. = 28 *FPL* (Palatinus); for Ennian etymologies, see O'Hara (1996), 51–2. In general for Roman precedent for Virgilian etymologizing, see O'Hara (1996), 51–6. The influence of

Whatever Virgil's original source or sources for his Alexandrian learning, however, more importantly, for readers of Roman epic, underlying the passage, is the inescapable significance of Sicily in Roman historical memory. Above all, the island is evocative as the loaded site of heroism and disaster in the wars with Carthage, primarily the First Punic War. For Virgil's first readers, these memories would be readily evoked not just in general terms, but because the island and the battles fought there were the territory of the two key poems in the Roman epic canon still 'in our hands and sticking in our heads' from schooldays, Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and Ennius' *Annales*.³⁶

On closer inspection, many of the places Aeneas passes were among the most important in Sicily in Rome's fight against Carthage. The glorious city that would be founded in the bay of Syracuse (692–6) would be the object of some of the most famous sieges in history:³⁷ the Athenian siege in the late fifth century, but, in Roman history, remembered as a contested site in the battles with Carthage and, in particular, for its two-year siege by M. Claudius Marcellus during the Second Punic War (214–212 BC).³⁸ As the Trojans sail past

periplus writing has also been detected in the passage (Reeker (1971), 94; Lloyd (1988), 28; Della Corte (1972), 77; Horsfall (2006), 460), as has that of Apollonius' *Argonautica* (Nelis (2001), 49 and 56–9).

³⁶ Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.53–4. If in the first part of Book 3 Aeneas retraces the places visited by Odysseus in Homer's poem in implicit emulation of Homer (Quint (1993)), so, too, at its end, he traces proleptically over a number of the sites associated with Naevius and Ennius.

³⁷ R. D. Williams notes that it 'is presumably the later fame of Syracuse' that stimulates the act of worship at *Aen.* 3.697.

³⁸ The intensely evocative nature of the site is well illustrated in Livy's account of the siege, where the action of looking down on the city moves Marcellus to tears as he calls to mind the layers of its illustrious history:

Marcellus ut moenia ingressus ex superioribus locis urbem omnium ferme illa tempestate pulcherrimam subiectam oculis uidit, inlacrimasse dicitur partim gaudio tantae perpetratae rei, partim uetusta gloria urbis. Atheniensium classes demersae et duo ingentes exercitus cum duobus clarissimis ducibus deleti occurrerant et tot bella cum Carthaginensibus tanto cum discrimine gesta, tot tam opulenti tyranni regesque, praeter ceteros Hiero cum recentissimae memoriae rex, tum ante omnia, quae uirtus ei fortunaque sua dederat, beneficiis in populum Romanum insignis. ea cum uniuerſa occurrerent animo subiretque cogitatio, iam illa momento horae arsurā omnia et ad cineres reditura . . . (25.24.11–15)

(When Marcellus entered the walls and looked down from the higher ground at the city below him—at that time one of the most beautiful in the world—he is said to have wept, partly for joy in the accomplishment of so great an enterprise, partly in grief for the ancient glory of the city. To his mind there came the sinking of the

Agrigentum (703–4), the site calls up the memory of the future city from a distance of space and time (*longe*, 'far off' (703); *quondam*, 'once' (704)). Particular stress is laid on its massive future walls (*maxima...moenia* (703)), covertly inviting recollection of the Roman siege of it in the First Punic War which Naevius narrated in the *Bellum Punicum*.³⁹ Similar traces of future history are evident as the catalogue moves up the west coast of Sicily to Lilybaeum, which was a main centre of Punic Sicily, noted for its pitiless shoals (*uada dura* (706)) and hidden rocks (*saxis...caecis* (706)), geographical features that characterize the dangerous waters in the city's harbour, and perhaps specifically as they were experienced in the long-drawn-out siege of the city before the Romans really got the hang of sailing in

fleets of the Athenians and the destruction of two mighty armies along with two very distinguished generals, and so many wars waged with so great a risk against the Carthaginians; tyrants and kings, so many and so wealthy, Hiero most of all, a king still vivid in memory, and glorious above all for his generosity to the Roman people, which his own valour and success had achieved. As all these memories ran through his mind and the thought came to him that now within an hour everything would be in flames and reduced to ashes)

On the importance of this siege (the city had effectively been in Carthaginian hands at this point), see e.g. Finley (1979). *Ann.* 293, attested for Book 8, may refer to the celebration of the *ouatio* of Marcellus after the capture of the city (Skutsch, pp. 471–2), and the incarnation of the elder Marcellus will be a fighter against Carthage in the parade of future heroes in Virgil's underworld, who 'will lay the Phoenicians low' (*sternet Poenos* (6.858)). *Sil. Pun.* 14.177–684, too, celebrates Marcellus' achievements in the magnificent city of Syracuse, naming Marcellus as its 'second founder', *seruando condidit urbem* (14.681). On the Roman movements around Ortygia and the fountain of Arethusa, see Lazenby (1978), 118 and cf. *Sil. Pun.* 14.295 (also an apostrophe in the poet's voice) for Marcellus' invocation of Arethusa's spring (*fontes, Arethusa, tuos*).

³⁹ *quondam* arguably works as a self-annotation, referring the reader to past poetry. Naevius 45 Str. = 49 FPL (*fames acer augecit hostibus*, 'sharp hunger grows for the enemy'), perhaps originates from this episode, and the famous 'giants' fragment (4 Str. = 8 FPL) has also been ascribed by some to an ecphrasis of the huge frieze in the city's famous temple of Zeus. Readers may think of Ennian narratives, too, since Agrigentum was besieged again in the Second Punic War, when it was taken by Laevinus in 210 bc. The city is said to be famous for the 'great-souled horses' it would breed (3.704), presumably the prizewinning racehorses it bred for the Greek games, but conceivably this could also suggest martial epic: in the *Punica* (14.208–10), a contingent from Agrigentum fighting on the side of Syracuse in Marcellus' campaign in Sicily is distinguished above all for its supply of horses. The word *magnanimum* ('great-souled' (*Aen.* 3.704)), the only adjective used by Virgil in the old genitive singular form in *-um* (R. D. Williams (1960) ad loc.), may be Ennian: Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.303–8; Skutsch on *Ann.* 536, pp. 685–6; Horsfall (2006), 468; cf. also Wigodsky (1972), 124.

unfamiliar territory.⁴⁰ Aeneas finally puts to shore in the bay of Drepanum at the bridgehead to Carthage. The pregnant phrase used to characterize it, *inlaetabilis ora* ('unhappy shore' (707)), has suggested to commentators 'imminent tragedy made explicit' in the following lines on the death of Anchises (3.708–13),⁴¹ but one of the things which critics do not mention is that, for the poem's audience, the shore would be recognized as 'unhappy', too, because of the ill-omened battle that took place here in 249 BC, Rome's most serious naval defeat of the war, a defeat that was reversed later, nearby, in the battle of the Aegates Islands which decided the outcome of the First Punic War.

ii. War Games

When the Trojans, after a second storm in the waters that would be so treacherous for future *Aeneadae*, are forced to turn back once again to the familiar shores (*notae . . . harenae* (5.34)) of Drepanum in *Aeneid* 5, the foreshadowing of earlier Punic narratives implicit in the periegesis that closes *Aeneid* 3 becomes more significant. Though a stopover at Drepanum is traditional,⁴² a second stop is unheard of in other accounts of the Aeneas legend. This allows room for the intervention of the Carthage episode between the first and second landings in Sicily. The sad omen (*triste . . . augurium* (5.7)) of the flames illuminating the walls of the city of Carthage at the start of Book 5 looms over the events of the book, which is framed by fire at its close as well.⁴³ The Sicily episode in *Aeneid* 5 is often interpreted as a place of heightened poetic competition with the *Iliad*, which likewise contains an extended account of games, held as part of the funeral rites for

⁴⁰ For Virgil's evocation of the memory of the First Punic War in the description of Lilybaeum, see Rizzo (1987), 222, with Polyb. 1.42.7. Lilybaeum was later a site of Roman victory in 218 BC during the first naval clash of the Second Punic War. On the 'emphasis on the forbidding nature of the place', see R. D. Williams (1960) ad loc. Camerina, too, a Carthaginian stronghold, would be remembered for its disastrous storms during the First Punic War, while Selinus was destroyed by Carthage in 250 BC.

⁴¹ Horsfall (2006) ad loc., following Servius.

⁴² Dion Hal.1.52: Della Corte (1972), 97; Heinze (1999), 133–4.

⁴³ The burning of the boats (5.659–84) arguably pre-echoes the destruction of the Roman fleet here at Drepanum in 249 BC, an important part of the first substantial fulfilment of Dido's curse.

Patroclus (23.262–897).⁴⁴ There is open *aemulatio* with Homer in the games in *Aeneid* 5. Athletic games—as in later Roman epic—figure, on a self-conscious level, the poetic competition at work in the poem.⁴⁵ Virgil's games, however, do not only engage with Homer, but also with the *Aeneid*'s 'shaggy' Roman epic rivals. Though the enactment of games in epic is most famously a Homeric device, the geographical location is fundamentally the territory of early Roman epic and its sites of memory. The anniversary games for Anchises' death celebrated by the Trojans and the neighbouring Sicilians in Drepanum, therefore, also set up poetic antecedence for the *Aeneid* by foreshadowing the Punic narratives of Naevius and Ennius, as the various contests hint at these two chronologically 'future' poems: Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and, in the ship race, Ennius' *Annales*.⁴⁶

Acestes and Segesta

Towards the end of Book 5, Aeneas finds a city to be headed by Acestes, the son of a Trojan woman and a Sicilian river, and calls it 'Acesta' (Sicilian Segesta).⁴⁷ Historically, Segesta had been an ally of Carthage, but near the beginning of the First Punic War in 263 BC, the Segestans slaughtered the Carthaginian garrison and voluntarily came over to Rome. On one tradition, the rhetoric of reconciliation was based on a claim to shared ancestry in that, like Rome, Segesta (Acesta) had been founded by Aeneas in Acestes' name.⁴⁸ The city was later besieged by Carthage, but was recaptured by Duilius in 260 BC, in what, after Mylae, was considered one of his greatest achievements.⁴⁹ Because of its historical importance, the *Bellum Punicum* is almost certain to have included Segesta in its narrative. It is possible

⁴⁴ Farrell (1999), with particular emphasis on the metaliterary. A shorter account of games in Scheria occurs at *Od.* 8.97ff.

⁴⁵ Farrell (1997), 232; (1999); Lovatt (2005).

⁴⁶ Cf. Richardson (1993), 202–3, for the suggestion that the Iliadic games 'foreshadow events beyond the poem's scope' in the narratives of the epic cycle.

⁴⁷ For Acestes' ancestry, see *Aen.* 5.38–9 and Serv. on *Aen.* 1.550; for the foundation of the city, see *Aen.* 5.715–18, 746–58.

⁴⁸ Zonar. 8.9.12; cf. Enn. *Var.* 127–30 Vahlen²; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.72, 2.5.83, 2.5.125; Plut. *Nic.* 1.3; Thuc. 6.2.3; Buchheit (1963), 52; Galinsky (1969), 173; Gruen (1992), 45.

⁴⁹ Polyb. 1.24.2; Zonar. 8.11. The archaizing inscription on Duilius' naval column (substantially renovated in the imperial period) describes the Carthaginians as so distressed that they and their commander fled their camp in broad daylight (*CIL* 1².25).

that Naevius mentioned Aeneas as the founder of Segesta (and that Virgil is therefore rehearsing this episode); the appearance of Segesta during the First Punic War would thus have been the moment that instigated the embedded back-narrative of the Aeneas legend, covered by a number of surviving fragments.⁵⁰ The position of the retrospective Aeneas legend in the *Bellum Punicum* remains uncertain, but the city must have played some role in Naevius' Punic narrative: in one way or another, Segesta, for the *Aeneid*, is Naevian territory.

The Roman–Segestan alliance of the First Punic War is projected back in the *Aeneid* to a point even earlier than Aeneas' foundation of the city. One reason the Trojans choose to land in Sicily a second time is that they can already expect a favourable reception from their Segestan allies: as Ilioneus tells Dido, they have 'cities and arms' at their disposal in Sicily and a sure ally in Segesta (1.549–50; cf. 1.195–7). At the beginning of Book 5, Acestes is introduced emphatically as 'Trojan Acestes' (*Dardanium... Acesten* (5.30); cf. *Troiano... a sanguine... Acestes* (1.550); *Dardanius... Acestes* (5.711); *Troianus Acestes* (5.757)), and appears symbolically clothed in the skin of a Libyan bear (5.37).⁵¹ Segesta's role in future Punic history, however, is brought to the fore in the games played out in the Sicilian landscape. In the archery contest, in which the future Segestans participate, Acestes is the final competitor. The contestant before him, Eurytion, an ancestor of future Romans, has already struck the target (a dove tied by a cord to the mast of a ship anchored on the shore in the bay of Drepanum (5.487–9)), so Acestes, with no chance of victory, shoots an arrow straight up into the air, which spontaneously bursts into flames and continues like a shooting star into the sky:

hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina uates.
namque uolans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
signauitque uiam flammis tenuisque recessit

⁵⁰ For the hypothesis, which has much to recommend it, see Buchheit (1963), 52–3, with Klotz (1938). Ennius, too, mentions the foundation of Segesta by Aeneas in the *Euhemerus* (Var. 127–30 Vahlen²), named for his host, *ut eam postmodum laetus ac libens Acestes diligeret augeret ornaret* ('so that later on Acestes should gladly and willingly cherish, increase and enhance it'), though there is no surviving evidence that he did so in the *Annales*.

⁵¹ Virgil notably describes Acestes as *horridus* (Aen. 5.37), hinting perhaps at the shaggy world of the *horridus... | ... Saturnius* (Hor. Epist. 2.1.157–8).

consumpta in uentos, caelo ceu saepe refixa
transcurren crinemque uolantia sidera ducunt.

Aen. 5.522–8

(At this a sudden portent appeared before their eyes, which would prove to be of great significance. Afterwards the great outcome was revealed and awe-inspiring prophets sang of the late-fulfilled omens. For as it flew through the vaporous clouds, the arrow burst into flames and marked its path with fire until it was consumed and faded into thin air, as often shooting stars, unfastened from the sky, speed along and trail their hair behind them.)

The omen is cryptic. The momentous outcome will reveal itself far outside the temporal experience of the characters, but what it points to has been subject to much debate. One explanation which might well have suggested itself to the poem's early audience, particularly with the simile at 527–8, is that the flaming arrow portends allegorically the comet (*sidus Iulium*) seen during other games, those celebrated by Octavian in Caesar's honour in 44 BC. (The star was commonly believed to be Caesar's spirit ascending to heaven.⁵²) But the comet was itself an *omen* (524), not an outcome (*exitus ingens* (523)), and it is clearly suggested that the outcome of the flaming arrow will concern Acestes himself, bringing him future honour (5.534).⁵³ Also at play, then, is the alternative explanation, pointed out by Heinze, that the flaming arrow refers in some way to the future of 'Acesta' in the First Punic War, the foundation of which is showcased at the end of Book 5.⁵⁴ As Grassmann-Fischer reiterates, the 'Zukunftsaspekt' of the prodigy appeals to the historical consciousness of Virgil's audience, who needed the merest hint to link the 'epischen *exitus*' of the prodigy with the First Punic War.⁵⁵ The historical consciousness of Virgil's contemporaries, though, is closely bound up with a literary consciousness of past historical epic, and that 'epic outcome' would specifically suggest Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*.⁵⁶

⁵² See esp. Drew (1927), 43–6; M. F. Williams (2003).

⁵³ R. D. Williams (1960), 142.

⁵⁴ Heinze (1999), 134; cf. R. D. Williams (1960), 142, and on 5.718: '[i]t seems then that the star portends the future greatness of Acestes, in particular with regard to his city Segesta'. Lawler (1988), 103, 105, interpreting the imagery of the episode, points out that arrows, as well as hunting weapons, are symbolic of war in the *Aeneid*.

⁵⁵ Grassmann-Fischer (1966), 87.

⁵⁶ Lines 523–4 (*docuit post exitus ingens | seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina uates*) are much disputed and can be read in two main ways (*sera* was a problem already for

Part of the function of the *Aeneid*'s suggestion of the Segestan alliance in the First Punic War, here, is to herald the first step towards *imperium Romanum*.⁵⁷ The connotations of the *sidus Iulium* suggested in the shooting star simile (5.527–8) begin to be decoded later in the poem, when the *sidus Iulium* itself appears at the centre of the depiction of the Roman future on Aeneas' shield above Octavian's head (the modern incarnation of the *imperium Romanum*) in another ultimately naval war, as he stands on the poop on the waters of Actium fighting against the forces of the East (*patrium . . . aperitur uertice sidus*, 'his father's star dawns above his head' (8.681)). The Punic Wars are a notorious gap in the shield, which the standard explanation that the period is partly covered by the parade of heroes in Book 6 does not fully explain away. In the final scene on the shield we see Augustus as master of the world surveying the far-flung peoples and places he has conquered (*Aen.* 8.720–8).⁵⁸ In part, then, the omission is 'understandable in view of the later presentation of those struggles as the crucial stage in Rome's accession to world power which might detract unduly from the glory of Augustus'.⁵⁹ But another reason for the silent omission of the Punic Wars from the description of the shield is that the wars are strongly associated with Naevian and Ennian epic. In hinting at the future of primeval Segesta, the *Aeneid* covertly stakes a claim to the Punic landscape and its crucial future that is the proper subject of its epic precursors.

Besieging Eryx

Virgil's Sicilian boxing-match (5.362–484) similarly foreshadows the struggle against Carthage at a time in the distant future. The match

Servius): 'the great outcome proved it so in later days, when awe-inspiring prophets sang of the late-fulfilled omens' (so R. D. Williams (1960) ad loc.) or that prophets present at the *time* sang of the omens for later days (so Heinze (1999), 140 n. 21). It is tempting to see here a self-reflexive signal of the episode as a moment of epic 'pre-writing'. Following Williams's interpretation, the outcome of the omen will be interpreted (sung: *cecinerunt* (524)) at a time long after this one, by *uates* (a word which can also, particularly in the context of archaic epic, denote 'poet', with special connection to Naevius). For Virgil's self-construction as *uates*, cf. Ch. 2.

⁵⁷ Grassmann-Fischer (1966), 87.

⁵⁸ One of those (unmentioned) places closer to home was Sicily, retaken by Octavian from Pompey at the battle of Naulochus in 36 bc. Cf. A. Powell (2008), 87–131.

⁵⁹ Hardie (1986), 351.

takes place near Mount Eryx, the mountain that rises up behind Drepanum.⁶⁰ Eryx was notable in antiquity principally for two things: the world-famous temple of Venus of Eryx, and the fierce climactic land battle in the First Punic War. In 244 bc, Hamilcar took the mountain town of Eryx between the Roman garrison at the top of the mountain and that at its foot. In a protracted conflict that lasted until the end of the war, the Carthaginians laid siege to the Roman garrison. According to Polybius 'both sides employed every device and every effort that the siege demanded: both endured every kind of privation and both essayed every means of attack and every variety of action' (1.58.4).⁶¹ Though the outcome of the siege itself was never decided (it ended with the war), Eryx was later seen by the winning side as an important part of Rome's victory.⁶² At the end of the war, the Romans took over the cult of the goddess, and seemed later to associate their victory with her.⁶³

Near the end of Book 5, Virgil's Aeneas famously goes beyond 'embellishing' the sanctuary on his visit to the island in earlier accounts, and himself founds the goddess' sanctuary at Eryx (*Aen.* 5.759–61), thereby anchoring her connection with Rome firmly to the Aeneas legend, and to the poem's own narrative.⁶⁴ But the games, too, proleptically echo later events in Roman history around Eryx. Fighting in the vicinity of Mount Eryx and in remembrance of its eponymous hero, Virgil's boxers foreshadow the real fight that will take place here during the First Punic War.⁶⁵ The connection is brought to the fore at 5.437–42, when Dares, lunging at the stalwart Entellus (who stands with his feet fixed to the spot, dodging his opponent's blows

⁶⁰ Rehm (1932), 40.

⁶¹ trans. Paton (2010).

⁶² Before he marches into battle by the river Ticinus, Livy's Scipio inspires his men with the thought of the moment when a Roman consul forced Hamilcar to surrender, march down the mountain, and sign his name to the harsh conditions of the treaty Rome imposed (21.41.6–9); cf. also 21.10.7.

⁶³ For Venus Erycina as *Victrix*, see Galinsky (1969), 186, with numismatic evidence. Venus Erycina appears again in the Second Punic War, when in 217 bc, after the defeat of Lake Trasimene, Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus vowed to build her a temple in Rome (Livy 23.30.13–14). For the temple's connection with Rome, see Galinsky (1969), 173–90; Erskine (2001), 198–205. Mount Eryx will later be one of the sites of the future Roman Empire, along with *pater Appenninus* and Mount Athos in Macedonia, to which Aeneas is compared in the famous landscape simile at *Aen.* 12.701–3.

⁶⁴ Contrast the more cautious account at Diod. Sic. 4.83. Virgil's account was to become the 'official' one: Galinsky (1969), 64–5.

⁶⁵ See esp. Traill (2001).

with his body) is compared to a general attacking a high-walled city or besieging a stubborn mountain stronghold, searching in vain for a way in:

stat grauis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem
corpore tela modo atque oculis uigilantibus exit.
ille, uelut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem
aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
arte locum et uariis adsultibus inritus urget.

Aen. 5.437–42

(Entellus stolidly stands his ground, and poised in the same position, dodges the blows with body movements only and watchful eyes. Dares, like someone attacking a city towering high with massive walls or besieging a mountain stronghold, looks for a way in, now here, now there, skilfully covering all the ground in his manoeuvres, pressing hard with all manner of assaults and all to no avail.)

David Traill has shown that the unusual simile combined with the location of the boxers, in addition to looking back to the mythical and legendary past linked with the poems of Apollonius and Homer, also anticipates the climactic land battle of the First Punic War which would later be fought here.⁶⁶ Traill suggests a probable source in Polybius, who uses a pugilistic comparison in the account of Hamilcar's earlier activities, and seems to continue the metaphor of an athletic contest in his account of Eryx.⁶⁷ But though Polybius seems to be one of the prose intertexts behind Virgil's boxing match, for readers of Roman epic, this landscape is Naevian territory. Because of the fragmentary state of the *Bellum Punicum*, the context of even those fragments that survive is difficult, and the connections with Virgil can only be vaguely suggested.⁶⁸ But it remains that, in epic, it

⁶⁶ Traill (2001).

⁶⁷ Traill (2001), 408–11; Polyb. 1.56.1–1.57.2; 1.58.1; 1.58.6.

⁶⁸ 37 Str., *superbiter contemtim conerit legiones* ('haughtily and contemptuously he wears out the legions' (= 42 *FPL*)), may have been part of an account of Hamilcar at the siege of Eryx, as Warmington suggests (= fr. 39 Warmington; the fragment is otherwise taken as a reference to P. Claudius Pulcher, wearing out his legions at the battle of Drepanum: M. Barchiesi (1962), 460–3; Str., p. xxix); 48 Str., *magnum domum decoremque ditem uexerant* ('they had ravaged a great, beautiful and rich dwelling' (= 23 *FPL*)), might refer to the plunder of the temple of Aphrodite by Gallic mercenaries (on the event, see Galinsky (1969), 64, but cf. Cichorius (1922), 52–4). 43 Str. = 47 *FPL* is generally assigned to the subsequent treaty of 241 bc arranged between Lutatius Catulus and Hamilcar after the battle of the Aegates Islands.

is essentially to Naevian subject matter that the *Aeneid* refers. It is interesting in this context that the simile is couched in unusually technical Latin (*castella* (440); *adsultibus* (442)), language which might have been drawn from historians, but given the kind of technical vocabulary used for warfare by Ennius and Naevius, may have originated in historical epic, too.⁶⁹ Traill concludes that 'by... romanizing the legend of Aeneas Virgil sought to enhance its resonance for his contemporaries'.⁷⁰ The Roman reference looks forward to future history, and perhaps its representation in Polybius, which would resonate for Virgil's contemporaries, but it would also resonate—probably far more than we can know—with their reading of past epic, Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*.⁷¹

Battleships

The ship race, too, the first and most detailed contest of the games, foreshadows a future in the First Punic War beyond the immediate temporal sphere of the episode. The substitution of the chariot race of *Iliad* 23.262–652 with a ship race tends to be seen as a direct reference to Augustus' Actian games at Nicopolis, which probably included a regatta in specific commemoration of his victory at sea in the battle of Actium. As Philip Hardie observes, 'the Virgilian ship-race is itself both a workout for the serious business of naval warfare at Actium, and a proleptic commemoration of the battle, as type of the regatta at Augustus' Actian games'.⁷² But at another level, the ship race also functions as a proleptic commemoration of a different naval war. In Book 3, Aeneas tells how the Trojans visited the primitive site of

⁶⁹ *castellum* makes a rare poetic appearance in *G.* 3.475; *adsultus* is found only here and in Tacitus. It may be relevant, too, that the only other simile with 'distinctly Roman' content (Traill (2001), 405), *Aen.* 1.148–56, in which Neptune calming the storm is compared to a statesman pacifying a crowd, is also found in a Naevian context (*Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 1.198; *Macrob. Sat.* 6.2.30–1), and has Ennian precedent in the consul simile at *Ann.* 79–83.

⁷⁰ Traill (2001), 412.

⁷¹ Traill (2001), 411, posits the idea that, since Virgil is not known to have used Polybius elsewhere, a common source in the *Bellum Punicum* shared by the two authors 'is certainly not impossible', but leaves the temptation at that ('it seems unlikely'), preferring the idea that if Polybius is not a direct source, then he reached Virgil indirectly by historians like Valerius Antias. On Naevius as a possible source for historians, see Goldberg (2010), esp. 173–6.

⁷² Hardie (1987), 166.

future Nicopolis, celebrating athletic contests there (3.278–88), but not the expected ship race.⁷³ When the marine contest does appear, therefore, the location is peculiarly striking. The poem takes particular care to give a vivid sense of where the Trojans are: at the beginning of the book, leaving Carthage ominously behind them (5.3–7), they make landfall once again in the vicinity of Drepanum (*litora . . . Erycis portusque Sicanos* (5.23–4)), with Mount Eryx in the background,⁷⁴ and the ship race takes place in the bay, with its sickle-like promontory (Greek *δρέπανον*, ‘sickle’) jutting out into the sea and forming a ‘deep harbour’ (*portu . . . alto* (5.243)). Such topographical detail essentially creates notional places rather than precise representations of reality;⁷⁵ above all, ‘the bay of Drepanum’ would have evoked the memory of the huge naval disaster in which almost all of the Roman fleet was destroyed and the war with Carthage nearly lost.⁷⁶ It was near here, too, in 241 bc, that the final battle of the First Punic War was fought, reversing the earlier defeat with a newly built and well-trained fleet.⁷⁷

⁷³ Cf. R. D. Williams (1962) on 3.276 for the way in which this visit to the little town, later to be enlarged by Augustus, achieves an effect similar to the primitive site of future Rome in linking past and present.

⁷⁴ ‘the shores of Eryx and the Sicilian ports’. Drepanum was once the port of Eryx: Tusa (1985), 140.

⁷⁵ Rehm (1932), 40; Horsfall (1985).

⁷⁶ 249 bc. The battle was lost due to a famous act of impiety (P. Clodius Pulcher threw the sacred chickens into the sea (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.7)). Virgil’s winner, by contrast, is successful because of his appeal to divine aid (5.232–43).

⁷⁷ The battle of the Aegates Islands, fought off the island of Aegusa which lies about 15 km from the harbour of Drepanum. (Segesta, which Aeneas marks out with a plough (5.755) is about 35 km distant from the bay.) Polyb. 1.61.2; Lazenby (1996), 150–7. On the famous defeat, cf. Sil. *Pun.* 4.79–80, on Carthage, *quae mersa sub aequor*, | *Aegates inter uasto iacet obruta ponto*, ‘which sank beneath the waves near the Aegates and now lies buried in the endless sea’, and 6.684–6 (part of the ecphrasis of Roman history at Linternum), *addiderant geminas medio consurgere fluctu* | *Aegatis: lacerae circum fragmenta uideres* | *classis et effusus fluitare in gurgite Poenos*, ‘they had added the two Aegates islands rising in mid-sea, and you could see around it the fragments of the shattered fleet and the shipwrecked Phoenicians adrift on the water’. The stretch of water near the Aegates, nearer to Lilybaeum (c.25 km south of Drepanum) was again revisited in battle in the Second Punic War (Livy 21.49–50: where the Romans fight ‘encouraged by the memory of the battles fought around that very place’ (*memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti* (21.49.13)). For some of the historical resonances of the geography, cf. Della Corte (1972), 96–7, who suggests further connotations of Octavian’s swift ships at Actium, and Rizzo (1987), 223.

Like the arrow of Acestes or the besieging Dares, the ship race in these waters would have evoked the subject matter of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*, *primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum* ('that most sharply contested First Punic War' (Cic. *Brut.* 76)), whose battles Ennius left out. But there is an engagement with the *Annales* at play here, too. While Ennius included no narrative of the battles of the First Punic War, he seems to have focused on Rome's astonishingly rapid acquisition of naval capabilities, which would lay the necessary foundations for much of the rest of the history that fell within the poem's scope.⁷⁸ *Annales* 217 (*urserat hinc nauim compulsam fluctibus pontus*, 'the sea had driven the ship here, beaten by the waves'), with which perhaps also *Annales* 462 (describing a ship 'better than one which carries merchandise'), probably refers to the famous chance discovery of a Punic ship which provided the Romans with the example of naval technology on which to model their first copy fleet;⁷⁹ and *Annales* 218 and 219 seem to refer to the essential training of crews to row it by oar-practice on dry land. Likely to have been connected with this was an episode detailing a type of naval display or regatta organized in order to facilitate the training of the crews to row on the sea itself. The important *testimonium* is provided by the Servian commentary on *Aeneid* 5.114:

Punico bello primum naumachiam ad exercitium instituere Romani, post quam probarunt gentes etiam nauali certamine plurimum posse. ad quam rem in hoc certamine plurimum adludit poeta.⁸⁰

(During the Punic War the Romans first established a *naumachia* for training purposes, after which people approvingly judged them to be very powerful even in naval combat. It is to this matter that the poet constantly alludes in this contest.)

Though the precise nature of the episode cannot be confidently reconstructed, Virgil's ship race seems, even so, to bear out Servius'

⁷⁸ So Skutsch, p. 390: 'The development of Roman sea power in the First Punic War seems to have been narrated even if the war as a whole was not.'

⁷⁹ *et melior naus quam quae stilaria portat*. The story may go back to Fabius Pictor: Walbank (1957) on Polyb. 1.20.15.

⁸⁰ *naumachiam*: other MSS have *-as* or *-a*; *post quam*: *dist.* Skutsch. On the problems of the Servian text, see further Skutsch (1980) for details, where he suggests that *Aegates* might be substituted for *gentes*.

observation (*plurimum adludit poeta*).⁸¹ The start of the race is compared to the beginning of a chariot race:

infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit
 conuulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
 non tam praecipites biugo certamine campum
 corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
 nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
 concussere iugis pronique in uerbera pendent.

Aen. 5.142–7

(Side by side they plough their furrows and the whole sea gapes open, churned by their oars and triple beaks. Not so headlong in a two-horse contest do the chariots snatch their way across the field and race along once released from the traps. Nor do the charioteers, giving free rein to their teams, so shake the rippling reins and lean forward to deliver blows.)

The imagery of a chariot contest self-consciously foregrounds poetic competition by evoking Homer's chariot race in *Iliad* 23.262–652.⁸² But there is also a specific allusion in the chariots shooting from their traps to a simile in the *Annales* (with *ruuntque effusi carcere currus* at *Aen.* 5.145 ('the chariots, released from the traps, race along'), compare *Annales* 463–4, *quom a carcere fusi | currus cum sonitu magno permittere certant* ('when the chariots, released from their traps, strive to hurl themselves forward with a loud sound')), suggesting self-conscious rivalry with Ennius as well.⁸³ Details in the description of the race, too, such as the sea churned up by the bronze prows appear

⁸¹ As Skutsch, qualifying Norden, observes, 'Servius means the First Punic War . . . since in the Second War Roman superiority at sea was never in question' (p. 623). Though it is conceivable that Servius had another source in mind, Ennius' epic is most likely to be the referent here (if Skutsch is right, Servius makes a similar anonymous reference earlier: = *Ann.* II.xi: see Skutsch, pp. 623, 279; see also Norden (1915), 163–7 (both drawing on Vahlen²)). The word *naumachia* is troublesome: the first attested instance in Latin appears in Lucilius, who uses it to mean some sort of game simulating a sea battle (460 Krenkel = 457 Marx, with Krenkel ('Seekampspiel')).

⁸² Farrell (1997), 232.

⁸³ On *permittere*, see Skutsch, p. 624 (imagining *se(se)* in the following line). The trap is a specifically Ennian rather than Homeric detail: cf. *Ann.* 79–83 (another chariot-race simile, also focalized through an expectant crowd). Metapoetics might be at work here, too, since, according to Cicero, Ennius compared himself to an ageing racehorse of former Olympic fame (*Ann.* 522–3 = *Cic. Sen.* 14). *Od.* 13.81–5 compares ships to chariots, and it is possible that, as Skutsch asserts (p. 623), *Ann.* 463–4 originally formed part of a simile in the Ennian boat race, too.

more Ennian than Homeric (*Aen.* 5.141–3, 158; cf. *Ann.* 377–8).⁸⁴ At 188–97 Mnesteus urges on his crew to speed up as they approach the turning post, possibly in echo of a similar figure in Ennius.⁸⁵ The effect is that the men redouble their exertions in language that displays features that might suggest Ennius as well as Homer:

olli certamine summo
procumbunt: uastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis
subtrahiturque solum, tum creber anhelitus artus
aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique riuis.

Aen. 5.197–200

(They bend to the oars, striving with all their might: the bronzed poop shudders with their great strokes and the surface of the water slips from under them; then quick panting shakes their limbs and parched mouths, and sweat pours streaming all down their bodies.)

olli (197) at the beginning of a line is a self-consciously Ennian feature,⁸⁶ and elements such as the gasping and sweating men appear elsewhere where Virgil draws on a double Ennian and Homeric source.⁸⁷ In much more general terms, naval training might be suggested in the peculiar sense of the contestants struggling with their bulky vessels, as if learning to handle new technology (Gyas' ship is massive (5.118); Cloanthus' heavy (*pondere pinus* | *tarda*, 'a ship of pine, slow because of its weight' (5.153–4)); Menoetes is timorous and unsure of the waters (*caeca* . . . | *saxa timens*, 'fearing

⁸⁴ Sandbach notes that the detail in Virgil is un-Homeric, since three-toothed bronze prows are only characteristic of later warships (1965–6) = S. J. Harrison (1990), 450. For ship-churned seas as an Ennian feature, cf. *Ann.* 377–8. The specific ship-types in the race have been much discussed: elsewhere the Trojans sail Augustan biremes (Sandbach (1965–6), 449), but here Gyas' ship is explicitly described as a trireme (119–20), and at some point Cloanthus' is apparently bigger (153–4). (The Roman fleet in the First Punic War consisted mainly of quinqueremes and a smaller contingent of triremes; Augustus won the victory at Actium with his navy of biremic *liburnae*.) The trireme (invented after the heroic age: Thuc. 1.13.2) would be a ship-type common to both eras. On Virgil's boats, see Meijer (1988) and Gianfrotta (1987).

⁸⁵ *Ann.* 467: *hortatore bono prius quam iam finibus termo* ('with a good encourager, before the boundary post at the limits now'). Skutsch emends *iam* to *sam* ('*sam* would be the ship which under a good *hortator* does not lose speed before the *termo* receives it *finibus*' (p. 626)); cf. however *Ann.* 489 Flores with Jackson ad loc.

⁸⁶ Bettini (1984), 290.

⁸⁷ *Aen.* 9.806–14 (Turnus under fire) with *Il.* 16.102–11 (Ajax) and *Ann.* 391–8 (a tribune under heavy fire): cf. esp. the sweating at *Ann.* 396 (*totum sudor habet corpus*) with *Aen.* 9.812–13 (*toto corpore sudor* | *liquitur*) and gasping at *Ann.* 397 (*nec respirandi fit copia*) with *Aen.* 9.813 (*nec respirare potestas*).

the unseen rocks' (5.164–5)), while Sergestus finds out how to handle damaged equipment (*fractis discentem currere remis*, 'learning how to speed along with broken oars' (5.222)).⁸⁸

Whatever the extent of the original correspondences might have been, however, Ennius' training exercise cannot have taken place here: Drepanum was in Carthaginian hands until the final year of the war. One of the things that seems to be happening in the account of the race, therefore, is a mingling of Ennius' narrative of the start of the war with an implicit evocation of the 'primitive' account of the battles he missed out, both foreshadowed at a time in the primeval past long before they happened. Staging the games in Sicily, more than just compositional or broadly 'historical' in function, becomes a way of engaging with epic accounts of the First Punic War, challenging Homer, but engaging, too, with Rome's second Homer and his 'primitive' competitor. By instigating a shadow naval contest in this memory-laden corner of Sicily at a time set 'first', the poem lays claim to this crucial moment in Rome's memory.

IV. WAR IN ITALY

bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis.

Livy 21.16.6

(War must be fought in Italy and for the walls of Rome.)

Near the height of battle on Italian soil, *Aeneid* 10 opens with a council of the gods:

panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi
 conciliumque uocat diuum pater atque hominum rex
 sideream in sedem, terras unde arduus omnis
 castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.
 considunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse:
 'caelicolae magni, quianam sententia uobis
 uersa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?

⁸⁸ It is tempting to see the 'remarkable phrase' (R. D. Williams (1960) ad loc.) describing Gyas' ship, *urbis opus* (5.119), in a literal sense, too, 'the labour of a city', in token of the massive programme of building a fleet from scratch, which, though it drew on the help of maritime allies, was probably centralized near Rome and marshalled everyone from carpenters to consular supervisors (Lazenby (1996), 64).

abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.
 quae contra uetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos
 aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?
 adueniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
 cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
 exitium magnum atque Alpīs immittet apertas:
 tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.

Aen. 10.1–14

(Meanwhile the house of all-powerful Olympus is thrown open, and the father of the gods and king of men calls a council to his starry seat, from where, high up, he looks on all the lands, the camp of the Trojans, and the peoples of Latium. They sit down in the double-opening hall and he begins: 'Great dwellers in heaven, why has your resolve been reversed, and why do you contend so much with spirits full of hate? I had forbidden Italy to clash with the Trojans in war. What is this discord contrary to my express command? What fear has urged one side or the other to follow the course of arms and provoke the sword? The appointed time for battle will come (do not bring it on), when savage Carthage will one day unleash great destruction and the opening up of the Alps against the Roman citadels: then you can vie in hatred, then you can take your plunder.)

The introduction of the council displays a high concentration of Ennian detail. Set in the double-opening halls (*tectis bipatentibus*) of the deities in the sky (*Aen.* 10.5), in the realm of all-powerful Olympus (*omnipotentis Olympi* (10.1)), it recalls the canonical council in heaven which Ennius created in *Annales* 1.⁸⁹ Jupiter is

⁸⁹ The passage is permeated with Ennian language: *omnipotens* (10.4) is an Ennian adjective (*Ann.* 447, of Jupiter) and *Olympus* an Ennian coinage (*Ann.* 1 and 181, *pater optume Olympi*; cf. Norden (1915), 45 n. 1); *bipatens* (10.5), a rare word drawn from the *Annales*, suggests the Ennian scene: Serv. on 10.5, *sermo Ennianus*, with Skutsch on *Ann.* 52. See further Norden (1915), 45 n. 1 for a thorough analysis of metrical and linguistic Ennian features in Virgil's council; cf. also Wiemer (1933) and S. J. Harrison (1991a) on these lines. For the *concilium deorum* in Book 1 of the *Annales*, see *Ann.* 51–6 with Skutsch on these fragments. The Ennian episode was clearly well known in Augustan Rome (Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.15–68 and Ov. *Met.* 14.812–15), and had been parodied by Lucilius (6ff. Krenkel = 4ff. Marx; cf. Serv. *Dan.* on *Aen.* 10.104) and perhaps also alluded to in a lost *concilium* in Cicero's *De consulatu*: cf. S. J. Harrison (1991a), 57; Manuwald (2009) (on Lucilius' presence in the passage). Norden (1915), 41–53, added a number of other fragments to reconstruct a second assembly of the gods in Book 7 of the *Annales* for the Second Punic War to which Virgil's council in *Aeneid* 10 directly looks forward, but his reconstruction is based on a number of assumptions about contextualization (especially with regard to *Ann.* 232 and 233) which have since been convincingly called into question (Skutsch, pp. 412–14; Wigodsky (1972), 66–7).

introduced as the god we know from the *Annales*: *diuum pater atque hominum rex* (10.2), 'father of the gods and king of men', is the Homeric hexameter formula with monosyllabic line end with which he is typically characterized by Ennius;⁹⁰ and, both in these lines and later on in the assembly, he speaks an archaic idiolect familiar from the *Annales*.⁹¹ The only divine council in Virgil's epic, the congregation in *Aeneid* 10 historically precedes the council in *Annales* 1 in which the fate and deification of Romulus is decided; the meeting of the gods to decide Roman affairs thus sets the *Aeneid* before the *Annales* and again reinforces the belated epic's position as, chronologically and more, the 'first' epic of Rome.⁹²

While they might not help us to rebuild a lost scene from the *Annales* as Norden proposed, the undeniable Ennian links have a point, in that, as well as looking forward to the divine council in Book 1 of Ennius' poem in which the fate of Ilia and the twins, and implicitly also of Rome, will be decided, they make explicit the analogy between this war in Italy and the war in Italy, also crucially decisive for the history of Rome, commemorated by Ennius. Looking down at the Trojan camp (*castra . . . Dardanidum* (*Aen.* 10.4)), Jupiter sets up the notion that though he forbade it (*abnueram* (10.8)), the war on Italian ground is coming dangerously close to becoming a

⁹⁰ Cf. *diuom pater atque hominum rex* (*Ann.* 203), in imitation of the Homeric πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (e.g. *Il.* 1.544). The phrase recurs in the extant fragments of the *Annales* with variations: *patrem diuomque hominumque* (*Ann.* 592); *diuomque hominumque pater, rex* (*Ann.* 591) (cf. Moskalew (1982), 86). Monosyllabic line-endings which are found in 8% of the extant lines of the *Annales* compared to 0.7% of the *Aeneid* (Skutsch, pp. 49–50; S. J. Harrison (1991a) on 10.2), often involve Ennian quotation. The same expression is used of Jupiter at *Aen.* 1.65, 2.648, and 10.743.

⁹¹ *caelicolae* (10.6) is Ennian (*Ann.* 445, *optima caelicolum, Saturnia, magna dearum*, 'Saturnia, best of the dwellers in heaven, great among goddesses'), a fragment which is *sed. inc.* in Skutsch but recently reassigned to the meeting of the gods in Book 1 of the epic by Flores (his *Ann.* 55); cf. also *quianam* 10.6 (*Ann.* 121; 246 with Skutsch on 121; Naev. 18 Str. = 16 *FPL*; S. J. Harrison (1991a) on *Aen.* 10.6–7); *fuat for sit*, 10.108, the only instance in Virgil. With *Aen.* 10.6, *quianam sententia uobis | uersa retro* ('why has your resolve been reversed'), cf. *Ann.* 246, *quianam dictis nostris sententia flexa est* ('why has your resolve been turned by my words?'). *abnueram . . . concurrere* is also Ennian (cf. *Ann.* 262). For Jupiter's Ennianisms at 100 ff., see Appendix and Norden (1915), 47–9.

⁹² *Ann.* 54–5, *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli | templa* ('there will be one whom you will carry up into the blue-green regions of the sky') on the deification of Romulus, an aspect of the myth possibly introduced by Ennius (Skutsch, p. 205), is likewise preceded in Virgil by the deification of Aeneas announced by Jupiter at *Aen.* 1.259–60 (*sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean*, 'you will carry great-souled Aeneas on high to the stars of the sky').

premature version of the Hannibalic War. This is made explicit in the god's next words:

adueniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpis immittet apertas:
tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.

Aen. 10.11–14

(The appointed time for battle will come (do not bring it on), when savage Carthage will one day unleash great destruction and the opening up of the Alps against the Roman citadels: then you can vie in hatred, then you can take your plunder.)

The horror of the Second Punic War was that much of it took place on Italian soil. Carthage might be 'far from the Tiber's mouth' (*Tiberina . . . longe | ostia* (Aen. 1.13–14)), but in 218 BC the seemingly impenetrable barrier of the Alps 'opened up' to let through the foreign invaders from the other side of the world with their bodies of foreign troops and elephants.⁹³ It became clear that, this time, the war with Carthage would be fought in Italy, and for the very city of Rome.⁹⁴

Though anchored in the deep past, the *Aeneid's* pre-Ennian war can be seen, at one level, to evoke all those fought on Italian soil narrated in the *Annales* and beyond, from Rome's early *reges* to the Social and Civil Wars. Its scale and geographical reach extend to span the whole of Italy, bringing the whole of *Hesperia* to arms (7.43–4),

⁹³ Cf. Sil. *Pun.* 17.501–2, where Scipio's forces in the final battle of the war slay the soldiers who had performed the superhuman feat of being the first men to have 'opened up' the Alps (*reserasse . . . Alpes*). For the crossing of the Alps, see also Polyb. 3.47–56 with Walbank (1957), 381–7.

⁹⁴ As Livy's Hannibal looks down from the snow-covered summit of the Alps to the plains of Italy, he tells his men that, by crossing the protective barrier of the mountain range, they will have crossed not only the *moenia* protecting Italy, but the very walls of the city of Rome (*moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae*) and that they would have in their hands and their power the *arx* and capital of Italy (*arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros* (21.35.9)). Notably, Jupiter's language in the council, esp. *certare odiis* (Aen. 10.14), recalls that of Virgil's Dido, endowed with prophetic powers on the point of death, when she calls on the Carthaginians (*Poenos Didone oriundos* (Ann. 297)), and one great avenger in particular, to pursue the descendants of Aeneas, *exercete odiis* (Aen. 4.623). With *certare odiis*, cf. also Livy of the Romans and Carthaginians, *odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam uiribus* (21.1.3): the more common phrase would be *certare uiribus*. Jupiter's statement also paves the way for Juno's reconciliation at Aen. 12.791–842 and her reconciliation after the Second Punic War in the *Annales*: Serv. on 1.20 and 1.281 with Feeney (1984).

and Virgil massively expands the forces that come to fight in it as well as the numbers involved.⁹⁵ The presence of the later Social and Civil Wars has taken centre stage in Virgil criticism, but one of the most prominent of those wars, which also had fundamental associations with martial epic in Italy, is the Second Punic War, a war that was centrally characterized as one fought largely on Italian soil.⁹⁶ Virgil imitates the key Italian theatre of the Second Punic War: the battlefield is peppered with heroes carrying names of some of the locations of the Punic campaigns in Spain and Sardinia;⁹⁷ its heroes use *falaricae*;⁹⁸ and the *Aeneid*'s conflict repeats ghostly sequences of some of the most important moments in the Hannibalic War, famously the material of Books 7–9 of the *Annales*. This section argues that Ennian Hannibalic echoes, brought to the fore by Jupiter's words in *Aeneid* 10, resonate throughout the description of the War in Italy in the *Aeneid*, not only in the divine action of the poem, but from the announcement of its beginning in *Aeneid* 7 to the duel at its end. Just as Sicily's geography evokes the First Punic War, the war that takes place on Italian soil in the second half of the *Aeneid* evokes memories of another war in Roman collective memory fought here, the Second Punic War, the greatest of the wars narrated in the *Annales*.

i. Beginnings: *Aeneid* 7 and *Annales* 7

In the delayed proem of *Aeneid* 7 (7.37–45), Virgil announces the beginning of the war that is to occupy the second half of his poem:

⁹⁵ On Virgil's expansion of traditional material here in terms of the number and origin of the forces and contraction in terms of time, see esp. Heinze (1999), 145–6.

⁹⁶ On the Civil Wars, see e.g. Fraenkel (1945), 149; Blänsdorf (1982), 91; Horsfall (1995), 155 and (2000), *passim*; on the Social War, see Ando (2002); A. Barchiesi (2008); Marincola (2010), 186–93. For the argument that Aeneas' wars in Italy 'prefigure several in Italy's history', see also e.g. MacKay (1971), 148–50. And see Sordi (1964) on echoes of the Gallic invasion.

⁹⁷ Holland (1935), 214–15.

⁹⁸ *Aen.* 9.705. The only use of a Roman rather than a Homeric weapon in the poem. The *falarica* was an important weapon in the siege of Saguntum (*Ann.* 557). See Hardie (1994), on 9.705–6. More generally on Virgil's war as a war partly couched in Ennian terms whose heroes engage in siege and cavalry warfare, see Horsfall (2003), pp. xvi and 472 n. 67.

nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
 quis Latio antiquo fuerit status aduena classem
 cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
 expediam, et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae.
 tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
 dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges
 Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
 Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
 maius opus moueo.

(Come now Erato: who were the kings, what were the circumstances, what was the state of affairs in ancient Latium when the stranger army first put its fleet into Ausonian shores—this I will unfold, and recall the beginnings of the first combat. You, you, goddess, remind the poet. I will tell of bristling wars; I will tell of battle-lines and kings driven to death in their courage, and the Tyrrhenian contingent, and all of Hesperia mustered in arms. A greater sequence of events opens before me; I now begin a greater work.)

The 'greater work' announced in 7.45 is conventionally understood in Homeric terms, famously picking up the Iliadic *arma* of the *Aeneid*'s programmatic first word to introduce a work greater than the 'Odyssean' narrative of Books 1–6, or challenging Homer to announce the arrival of a work 'greater than the *Iliad*' (Prop. 2.34.66). As I showed in Chapter 2, though, there is a challenge to Ennius, too.⁹⁹ The proem parallels Ennius' proem in *Annales* 7, also a major proem marking a new beginning, also falling in Book 7, where Ennius, too, pauses at a turning point in the narrative to take stock before the martial theme ahead. The *horrida bella* ('bristling wars' (41)) which define the work to come, moreover, recall not only Homeric but also Ennian subjects, while the geographical location, ancient Latium (*Latium antiquo* (38)) and the whole of *Hesperia* (44)—Ennius' name for Italy (*Ann.* 20)—points specifically to the *Annales*.

The pattern which Ennius established in the *Annales* 7 proem of a pause of assertion and anxiety before the approach towards the martial subject matter of an epic predecessor, Naevius and the First Punic War, is, in part, seen in the *Aeneid* 7 proem, too. Virgil's epic is about to narrate a great war on the soil of Italy, a subject which had powerful associations in Roman epic with *pater* Ennius, the poet of

⁹⁹ Ch. 2 sect. III

Italian wars.¹⁰⁰ But rather than ‘passing over’ the wars Ennius had already presented, as Ennius had done with Naevius, the *Aeneid*’s strategy is to precede and ‘pre-write’ them. It is almost certain that there was no war in Italy on *Aeneas*’ arrival there narrated in the *Annales*.¹⁰¹ This means that, viewed chronologically, Virgil’s war in Italy is, in fact, the ‘first’ war on Italian soil narrated in Roman epic. Appealing to the Muse as *uates* in language that emphasizes both primacy (*primum* (39), *primae* (40)) and recollection of a time past (*reuocabo* (40), *mone* (41)), the *Aeneid* implicitly suggests that its war is going to be the first important one fought in Rome’s history on Italian soil, long before Ennius arrived (*primae...exordia pugnae*, ‘the beginnings of the first combat’ (7.40)).¹⁰²

The account of the actual outbreak of war (*Aen.* 7.285ff.) which does not occur until relatively late in the book, has left traces of a potentially very close interaction with the historical future narrated in Book 7 of the *Annales*. A treaty has been agreed and needs only to be ratified by Aeneas (7.263–5), but Juno is enraged and summons the demon Allecto from the underworld to instigate the war that will break it. Her task accomplished, Allecto leaves Hesperia (*deserit Hesperiam* (7.543)) and returns to hell through one of its openings in the landscape, the *Plutonium* in Ampsanctus in the territory of the Hirpini (563–71). Finally, the goddess herself descends to earth and symbolically breaks open the gates of a pre-Roman Temple of Janus (*Aen.* 7.622). This episode in the *Aeneid* provides a key part of the foundational premise of Norden’s reconstruction of Book 7 of Ennius’ epic, to which the bulk of *Ennius und Vergilius* is devoted. Norden argued that partly because there is no precedent for the actual outbreak of war in Homer, in *Aeneid* 7 Ennius, and in

¹⁰⁰ On Ennius as a poet of *Itala bella*, see Sil. *Pun.* 12.409.

¹⁰¹ As argued by Fabrizio (2009), 76–97, part of a general argument that Ennius stressed the importance of the peaceful union between different peoples as a basis for Rome’s greatness and power. Arguably, this war in Italy is the first precursor to the series of wars pursuing the Aeneadae in realization of Dido’s curse (4.626, 629).

¹⁰² The notion of re-establishing primacy in martial Italy is given voice again in the second important invocation in *Aeneid* 7 (641–6), which acts as a pendant to the delayed proem of 7.37–45; Virgil calls on the muses to help him reach the earliest historical memory before he enumerates the Italian forces that come to fight in the war (a catalogue which has resonances of a probable Ennian catalogue) and Messapus, the ancestor of Ennius himself (Serv. on *Aen.* 7.691 = *Ann.* 524, with Skutsch ad loc.), leading a Faliscan contingent singing (*canebant* (7.698)) and marching ‘in metre’ (*aequati numero* (7.698)): see Malamud (1998) and Casali (2006a).

particular Book 7 of the *Annales*, really takes the central role as Virgil's main precursor. Many of the other reconstructions of lost narrative from the *Annales* on the basis of links with Virgil's text in *Ennius und Vergilius* have not stood the test of time. His reconstruction of an episode in the *Annales* that parallels the combined role of Allecto and Juno, however, is widely seen to maintain a great deal of plausibility.¹⁰³ On Norden's account, the Juno-Allecto episode goes back to an Ennian figure, 'Discordia'. The key fragments upon which he drew were 220–1 and 225–6 in Skutsch's edition:

corpore tartarino prognata Paluda uirago
cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et grauis terra
Ann. 220–1

(born of hellish body, the warlike female, 'Paluda', to whom water and fire and breath and heavy earth are equal)¹⁰⁴

postquam Discordia taetra
belli ferratos postes portasque refregit
Ann. 225–6¹⁰⁵

(After foul Discord shattered the iron-bound doorposts of war and its gates)

Norden linked the two fragments, arguing that 220–1 describe a hellish demon representing a personification of Empedoclean *Νεῖκος* (with elements of *Ἔρις* in Homer) and identified with the 'Discordia' in fragment 225–6. A series of echoes in Virgil's Allecto strongly suggests that Virgil's spirit had been modelled on Ennius' 'Discordia'. Likewise a hellish demon, *uirgo sata Nocte* (*Aen.* 7.331), *Cocytia uirgo*

¹⁰³ Timpanaro (1978), 640–2; Skutsch, p. 392, who sees the 'Discordia' episode as 'the most successful part of E. Norden's *Ennius und Vergilius*'. Norden's reconstruction has more recently been endorsed by A. Barchiesi (2007).

¹⁰⁴ *Paluda* may be an adjective or a name, connected by Varro *Ling.* 7.37 with *paludamentum* (a general's cloak), and carrying connotations of *palus* 'swamp' ('[a] female divinity associated with swamps may have been called *Paluda*, just as one associated with flowers is called *Flora*' (Skutsch, p. 396)): see Keith (2007), 69, on the double pun in the word pointing to both etymologies. *uirago* carries the general sense of a woman or goddess having the qualities of a man (*OLD s.v.*; Serv. on *Aen.* 12.468). On the gendered implications of the fragment and its etymologies, see Keith (2007), 64–9.

¹⁰⁵ Both fragments are quoted, in whole or part, by a number of different sources: *Ann.* 220–1 in Probus on *Ecl.* 6.31; Varro *Ling.* 7.37 (220); Festus apogr. 494 (*tartarino*); Paul. Fest. 495; *Ann.* 225–6 in Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.60–1; Porphyryon ad loc.; Pseudo-Acro ad loc.; Serv. on *Aen.* 7.622.

(*Aen.* 7.479), who is one of the hellish sisters (*sorores* | *Tartareae* (7.327–8); cf. *corpore Tartarino* (*Ann.* 220)). She is described as one

cui tristia bella
iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi
Aen. 7.325–6

(who loves grim wars, anger and treachery and pernicious crimes)

which has also been seen as an echo of *Ann.* 220–1, thus further suggesting the close relationship between the two Ennian fragments.¹⁰⁶ Allecto's Ennian background is suggested again when the nexus of allusion is augmented by further references to the name of the Ennian demon. When her task is complete, Allecto remarks: *en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi* ('Look! Discord has been accomplished at your will by grim war' (*Aen.* 7.545)), which can function here as an Alexandrian footnote, with *discordia* on a metaliterary level, to Ennius' goddess.¹⁰⁷ As Fraenkel conceded in an article in fact arguing substantially against the validity of Norden's case, the evidence seems to show strongly, at least, that 'Virgil did all he could to make it clear that this monster was to all intents and purposes identical with Discordia'.¹⁰⁸ To this, Norden added *Annales* 222:

sulpureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas
Ann. 222 = Prisc. *Inst.* 2.223

([Pluto] placed breathing holes by the sulphurous waters of the river Nar)

The posited reference to a *Plutonium* here has been contested, but the description of some sort of entrance to the underworld by the river Nar nevertheless remains a plausible interpretation of the line.¹⁰⁹ Assuming that it does indeed refer to a *Plutonium*, *Annales* 222 (attested for Book 7) would naturally have been part of the episode, the location of Discordia's provenance from a *Plutonium* in Italy by

¹⁰⁶ Fernandelli (1999), 25, who detects in *cordi* an echo of *Dis-cordia*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. with *bello*... *tristi* also the ring composition with *tristia bella* (*Aen.* 7.325) and the possible link with *Ann.* 220–1 there (Fernandelli (1999), 27); *tristia bella* ('grim wars') are the characteristic subject matter of the epic genre for Horace in *Ars P.* 73. The language in which Juno describes Allecto and the instructions she gives her likewise evoke *discordia* (*tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres* | *atque odii uersare domos*... *dissice compositiam pacem, sere crimina belli*, 'you are able to arm like-minded brothers for battle and overturn households with hatred... break up the settled peace, sow accusations that lead to war' (7.335–9)).

¹⁰⁸ Fraenkel (1945), 14.

¹⁰⁹ Skutsch on *Ann.* 222.

the Nar. The Ennian scene is thus read as paralleled by Virgil in the descent of Allecto, the Virgilian Discordia, to the underworld:¹¹⁰

illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas
 Cocytique petit sedem supera ardua linquens.
 est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis,
 nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,
 Amsancti ualles; densis hunc frondibus atrum
 urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
 dat sonitum saxis et torto uertice torrens.
 hic specus horrendum et saeui spiracula Ditis
 monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte uorago
 pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,
 inuisum numen, terras caelumque leuabat.

Aen. 7.561–71

(But Allecto lifted her wings with their serpents hissing and made for the home of Cocytus, leaving the high sky. There is a place in the centre of Italy at the foot of lofty mountains, well known and mentioned by report in many lands, the valley of Ampsanctus: dark with thick foliage, the wood's edge hems it in on both sides, and in the middle a roaring torrent resounds with rocks and whirling eddies. Here a horrible cave and breathing holes of fierce Dis are displayed, and a huge gorge opens its poisonous jaws where Acheron breaks forth. In them the Fury, that hated spirit, hid and relieved both earth and sky.)

Returning once again to Norden's reconstruction implicates a further episode in *Aeneid* 7, this time centring on Juno:

mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
 Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
 Roma colit, cum prima mouent in proelia Martem,
 siue Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum
 Hyrcanisue Arabisue parant, seu tendere ad Indos
 Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa:
 sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
 religione sacrae et saeui formidine Martis;
 centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri
 robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus.
 has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
 ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino

¹¹⁰ Ennius' Nar, also with sulphurous waters (*sulperea . . . aqua*), appears fleetingly at *Aen.* 7.517, while Pluto's *spiracula* have moved to Ampsanctus.

insignis reserat stridentia limina consul,
 ipse uocat pugnas; sequitur tum cetera pubes,
 aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.
 hoc et tum Aeneadis indicere bella Latinus
 more iubebatur tristisque recludere portas.
 abstinuit tactu pater auersusque refugit
 foeda ministeria, et caecis se condidit umbris.
 tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis
 impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine uerso
 Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis.

Aen. 7.601–22

(There was a custom in Hesperian Latium, one which the Alban cities later held sacred and which almighty Rome observes now, when they rouse Mars for the first battle—whether they are preparing to bring tearful war forcibly against the Getae, the Hyrcanians or the Arabs, or to march towards the Indians, head for the dawn, and demand back the standards from the Parthians. There are twin Gates of War (so they call them), sanctified by religious awe and the fear of savage Mars. A hundred bars of bronze and eternal strength of iron close them, nor does their guardian Janus ever leave the threshold. When the senators' judgement is firmly fixed on war, the consul himself, conspicuous in the Quirinal cloak and the Gabinie tie of his toga, unbars the screeching doorway. He himself calls for battle; the rest of the army follows him and the brass horns sound together in hoarse assent. In this way then, too, Latinus was bidden to declare war against the Aeneadae and open up the grim gates. But the father declined to lay hands on them, and, turning away, shunned the ugly duty and hid in the dark shadows. Then the queen of the gods came down from the sky and with her own hand pushed the stiff gates. The hinges turned: Saturn's daughter broke open the iron-bound doorposts of war.)

Norden linked *belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis* ('Saturn's daughter broke open the iron-bound doorposts of war' (7.622)), with *Annales* 225–6.¹¹¹

postquam Discordia taetra
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit

(After foul Discord shattered the iron-bound doorposts of war and its gates)

The status of the Ennian 'Gates of War' in this fragment as a literal reference to the *Belli portae* of the Temple of Janus in the Roman

¹¹¹ *Saturnia* is Ennius' epithet for Juno (*Ann.* 445).

forum has its problems, but remains the best explanation.¹¹² The difficulties in the *postquam* clause might be explained away if the clause is regarded as forming a transitional phrase summing up the action already directly narrated in the main (lost) text, before moving to the next phase of the narrative (hence the order of the fragments in Skutsch).¹¹³ The demon 'Discordia' would thus have been the original whose role was split between Juno and Allecto by Virgil, and the outbreak of Virgil's war in Italy crucially linked with the outbreak of war in *Annales* 7.

What war 'Discordia' was perceived as starting if and when she opened the gates remains a matter of debate. The options are either 241 BC, when the Gates of War, closed after the First Punic War, were reopened in the same year with the revolt of Falerii, or 235 BC, the rebellion in Sardinia.¹¹⁴ The date favoured by Skutsch and others of 241 BC remains the most likely, and is an intriguing one. Virgil's war in Italy is famously, in part, a proto-civil war. The Falerian revolt of 241 BC foregrounds the memory of internal fighting in Italy. For the *Aeneid*'s first audience, part of the memories evoked here might have been the Social War of 91–88 BC, or the strife of the 40s and 30s.¹¹⁵ One of the things that the *Aeneid* would be suggesting by evoking this moment in Ennius, then, is that when 'Discordia' opened the Gates of War in the *Annales*, the war she began had reverberations far beyond the scope of history which the old epic could encompass.¹¹⁶ In Virgil's primeval version, the Gates of War have their pre-Roman existence

¹¹² The phrases *Belli . . . portae* and *Belli ferratos . . . postis* are used by Virgil specifically in reference to the gates of the Temple of Janus (*Aen.* 1.294; 7.622). For Fraenkel, this is not necessarily an indication that Ennius' 'Discordia' performed a similar action at all, but simply an echo of the Ennian metaphor 'used to give additional force to Juno's action' (1945), 14. Richard Heinze had similarly suggested in 1903 that Virgil might be embodying as a full-blown episode something 'which *may* have been no more than a figure of speech in Ennius' ('was bei Ennius vielleicht nur Bild gewesen war' = Heinze (1999), 54)); cf. Norden's counter-arguments (1915), 20 n. 3. Horace quotes Ennius' lines on Discordia as an example of high poetic speech that would still be recognizable even if its word order and rhythm were broken up (*inuenias etiam disiecti membra poetae*, 'you would find, even when he is dismembered, the scattered limbs of a poet' (*Sat.* 1.4.62): the metaphor issue is still somewhat contentious: cf. e.g. D. P. Fowler (1998).

¹¹³ Skutsch, p. 403 on 225.

¹¹⁴ Varro *Ling.* 5.165; Livy 1.19.3; Plut. *Num.* 20.2; Skutsch, pp. 393–4.

¹¹⁵ A. Barchiesi (2007), (2008); A. Powell (2008).

¹¹⁶ Discordia also appears at Actium on Aeneas' shield (*Aen.* 8.702) and in the underworld by the gates of hell (*Aen.* 6.280).

before Rome in Hesperian Latium (*Hesperio in Latio* (*Aen.* 7.601)); it is Ennius' ancient ancestor, Messapus, who leads the Faliscans in the catalogue of heroes at *Aeneid* 7.695, and it is he who is 'eager to destroy the truce' (*avidus confundere foedus* (12.290)), placing the moment firmly 'before' the chronological scope of the *Annales*. But, rather than merely looking forward to the post-Ennian, the sense of 'Bürgerkrieg' in the war in Italy also originates in the *Annales*. For Ennius, war, even the war against Hannibal, already involved civil conflict.¹¹⁷ The outbreak of 'Discordia' in *Annales* 7 hangs over the Punic books, whichever war she was perceived as starting.¹¹⁸ The *Aeneid*'s 'civil' war in Italy, fomented by Juno, the goddess quintessentially on Carthage's side in Roman historical epic from Ennius on, anticipates the wars, and not least the Second Punic War, in Ennius' *Annales*.¹¹⁹

ii. Middles: *Hannibal ad portas*

Most of the fighting in the second half of the *Aeneid* takes place around the Trojan camp beside the Tiber. Lying, like Rome, on the east bank

¹¹⁷ cf. esp. Häußler (1976), ch. 4.

¹¹⁸ An important fragment on the strife that arises in times of war is *Ann.* 247–53 (= Gell. 20.10.4 (*Ann.* 284–53); Cic. *Mur.* 30 (*Ann.* 247–9, 252–3), et al.) attested for Book 8, *proeliis . . . promulgatis* (when battles are declared):

pellitur e medio sapientia, ui geritur res;
spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur;
haud doctis dictis certantes, nec maledictis
miscent inter sese inimicitias agitantes;
non ex iure manu consertum, sed magis ferro—
rem repetunt regnumque petunt—uadunt solida ui.

(good sense is driven out, things are done by force; the good speaker is spurned, the bristling soldier is loved; not arguing with wise words, nor just provoking each other with insults back and forth they stir up enmity; not to assert claims according to the law but rather with the sword—they press their claim and seek mastery—they rush with full force.)

The lines probably constitute some general reflection on the effect of war, but the precise context is unknown (Skutsch ad loc.). Flores (on his *Ann.* 270–5) interestingly if speculatively sees the statement as proemial, in the authorial voice, and indicating 'il profondo pacifismo di Ennio'.

¹¹⁹ As Silius reads it, the Gates of War 'need to be closed' with Zama, interpreting Juno's action in the *Aeneid* as one that starts the war that will culminate in her reconciliation and the battle of Zama (*Pun.* 17.356); *discordia demens* is also the force that leads the gods to fight at Cannae (*Pun.* 9.288). The date of 235, the Sardinian revolt, would also carry Punic undertones.

of the river, the camp stands out as a proto-Rome, the 'first' version of the capital (*primas in litore sedes*, 'the first settlement on the shore of the Tiber' (7.158)). When Aeneas lands in Latium, he starts to 'found' a camp there, marking it out with a furrow in a manner typical of city-founding (7.157–8), just as Romulus was said to have marked out Rome with a plough. The analogy becomes explicit later, especially in Book 9, when the camp is called *urbs*, 'city' (e.g. 9.48, 473, 639, 784), and its defenders citizens (*ciues*: 9.36, 783).¹²⁰

The war fought here pre-echoes the two most crucial moments in Ennius' story in which the city itself was placed in jeopardy. One is the infamous Gallic attack on Rome in 390 BC in which on some accounts the Gauls reached the Capitol itself.¹²¹ The second, even more famous, moment in Roman history typically seen as a repeat of the Gallic attack, occurred in 211 BC, when, failing to take Capua, Hannibal turned to march on Rome. The remembrance of 'Hannibal abhorred by our parents' (*parentibus . . . abominatus Hannibal* (Hor. *Epod.* 16.8)) at the very gates of Rome, handed down through generations, haunted the Roman imagination. It is this ancestral nightmare of Hannibal at the gates (*Hannibal ad portas*) that comes close to the surface early in *Aeneid* 9 when Turnus, stirred by Allecto, suddenly moves to attack the Trojan *urbs*. In a key passage, he rides ahead to the walls with a band of twenty men to check for an entrance:

Turnus, ut ante uolans tardum praecesserat agmen
 uiginti lectis equitum comitatus et urbi
 improuisus adest, . . .
 'ecquis erit mecum, iuuenes, qui primus in hostem—?
 en,' ait et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras,
 principium pugnae, et campo sese arduus infert.
 clamorem excipiunt socii fremituque sequuntur
 horrisono; Teucrum mirantur inertia corda,
 non aequo dare se campo, non obuia ferre
 arma uiros, sed castra fouere. huc turbidus atque huc
 lustrat equo muros aditumque per auia quaerit.

Aen. 9.47–9, 51–8

¹²⁰ On the camp as *urbs* that partly functions as 'an image of the Rome to be', see esp. Hardie (1994), 10–14. Cf. also Sordi (1964), 89. Unqualified *urbs* typically denotes Rome, see Jenkyns (1998), 546–7, and cf. *Aen.* 8.647.

¹²¹ Sordi (1964) contains an extensive discussion of parallels with the events of the fourth century, especially the Gallic siege of the Capitol, with which cf. *Ann.* 227–8 and the period covered by Book 4 of the poem, also part of the Ennian material depicted on the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.652–62).

(Turnus had taken wing and gone on ahead of his slow-moving column with twenty picked horsemen, and arrived at the city before he was expected . . . 'Is there any man among you who will come with me and be first upon the enemy? Look!' he says, and spinning his spear hurls it into the air to start the battle, and, sitting tall, charges over the plain. His comrades greet this with a shout and follow with a dreadful roar: they are amazed at the Trojans' unwarlike hearts, not daring to trust themselves to a fair fight on a level plain nor meeting them in arms as men, but sitting snug in the camp instead. Back and forth he rides wildly around the walls, and searches for an entrance where there is none.)

Attacking suddenly (*improvisus* (9.49)), and reaching the very walls of the *urbs* on the Tiber (9.57–8), to panic within (*hostes adest*, 'the enemy is upon us' (9.38)), Turnus recalls historical accounts of Hannibal's sally against Rome.

Some version of this famous march on the city must have been narrated in Book 8 of the *Annales*, too. One possible fragment of the account may survive, *Annales* 292:¹²²

ob Romam noctu legiones ducere coepit.

(He began to lead his troops to Rome during the night.)

In an article adeptly drawing out the historical Hannibalic echoes of *Turnus ad portas*, Horsfall suggested in a footnote that though 'clearly relevant' as a source for Virgil's Turnus in *Aeneid* 9, the Ennian original was 'breathlessly compressed', and he proffered instead Coelius Antipater as an equally likely source.¹²³ The Ennian account, though, may not have been as compressed as the evidence of a single fragment initially suggests, nor as dismissible as Horsfall's relegation of it to the foot of the page implies. One of the episodes listed by Propertius in his potted summary of Ennius' narrative is 'the Lares driving Hannibal off from their Roman home' (*Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantes* (3.3.11)). This can not, of course, be taken as an unbiased presentation of the original narrative (and the Lares are

¹²² = Festus 188; Paul. Fest. 187, et al. Hannibal set out at night, under cover of darkness (Livy 26.7.10). See Skutsch ad loc. on the use of *legiones* for Hannibal's army with Plautus *Amph.* 218; Livy 26.7.10 (also of Hannibal's troops).

¹²³ Horsfall (1974). One *Quelle*, of course, does not necessarily rule out the other. This is compounded by the fact that Coelius himself evinces Ennian influence elsewhere in his account of the Hannibalic War (see Skutsch, p. 450). An account in Roman epic, for generic reasons, would also be to the fore in readers' minds, especially those of the Ennian-educated readers of the first century BC.

probably a Propertian metaphor rather than an Ennian reality), but the Propertian *testimonium* suggests, at least, the likelihood that the episode—crucial to historians and one of the most haunting moments in Roman memory—was a characterizing episode of Ennius' poem, too.¹²⁴ The episode seems to have made an impression on another reader of Ennius, Silius Italicus in *Punica* 12. As Horsfall notes:

one might even suggest that Silius is aware of the relationship between the stories of Hannibal in 211, and Turnus in *Aeneid* ix, and that this awareness influences the characterization of Hannibal in *Punica* xii.¹²⁵

On a broad scale throughout the *Punica*, more than just in his characterization of Hannibal, Silius reads the latent possibilities in the *Aeneid*'s war in Italy as a proto-Hannibalic war.¹²⁶ One of the reasons for this is arguably that the Flavian poet was a reader not just of Virgil but of Virgil in dialogue with his canonical epic predecessor.¹²⁷ Book 12, in particular, might be described as Silius' most self-consciously 'Ennian' book. The book contains a detour on the war in Sardinia, where among the fighting forces is the poet Ennius 'from the ancient line of king Messapus' (*antiqua Messapi ab origine regis* (*Pun.* 12.393)), protected and singled out by Apollo since he is destined to sing of Italian wars and teach Helicon to repeat the sound of Roman

¹²⁴ On Propertius 3.3 and the *Annales*, see Ch. 1 sect. II n. 35 and cf. Jocelyn (1986) for the problems of Propertius as a 'direct' source for Ennius. Comparing Propertius' summary of Virgil's *Eclogues* (Prop. 2.34.67–76), it is worth noting that, although he might distort the poem's tone, he does get at least parts of the contents 'right' (cf. Heyworth (1986), 200–2).

¹²⁵ Horsfall (1974), 86.

¹²⁶ Cf. Hardie (1993), 24–5.

¹²⁷ Just how close a reader of Ennius Silius was has been a subject of industrious *Quellenforschung*, reaching its zenith in Wezel's extensive list of echoes (1873), and its nadir in Fürstenau's denial that Silius had any first-hand knowledge of the *Annales* at all (1916). Scholars have tended to be sceptical about extensive use of passages, though arguably the *comparanda* for extended passages in the *Annales*, particularly in the Punic books, are simply not available. As Häußler (1978), 154, points out in a convincing reaffirmation of Silius' use of the *Annales*: 'unbestritten bleibt doch des Silius Verehrung für Ennius, unbestritten bleibt die bewußte Ausstaffierung der *Punica* mit Ennianismen'. For reaffirmation to various degrees of Silius' use of the *Annales*, see Sechi (1947); von Albrecht (1964); Häußler (1978), 148–61, ch. 3a, 'Direkte Ennius-Reminiszenzen bei Silius'; Bettini (1979); Skutsch, pp. 17–18; Prinzen (1998); Casali (2006a); Dorfbauer (2008). Burck draws attention to a thesis, originally proffered by Ernst Bickel and reiterated by others, that Silius planned the *Punica* as an eighteen-book epic after the pattern of the *Annales*, but that his plan was cut short (Burck (1984), 4 with n. 12).

poetry (*Pun.* 12.3.411–13).¹²⁸ *Punica* 12, too, culminates in Silius' version of *Hannibal ad portas*. Leaving most of the army behind, Hannibal rides up to the city walls:

radiantibus armis
induitur Nomadumque iubet prorumpere turmas.
inde levis frenis circum pautantia fertur
quadrupedante sono percussae moenia Romae.
nunc aditus lustrat, clausas nunc cuspidē pulsat
infesta portas fruiturque timore pauentum.

Pun. 12.561–8

(He puts on his shining armour and orders the Numidian cavalry to gallop out. Then he rides with light reins around the walls of Rome, as the stricken city trembled at the sound of his hoof beats. Now he rides around the walls searching for an entrance, now he beats the closed gates with his threatening spear and enjoys the fear of the terrified inhabitants.)

Silius' passage is self-consciously a reading of *Aeneid* 9.47–68. Turnus, like Silius' Hannibal, rides suddenly up to the walls of the *urbs*, this time the actual *moenia Romae* of *Aeneid* 1.7 (*Pun.* 12.564), searching for an entrance (*aditus lustrat* (*Pun.* 12.565); *lustrat . . . aditumque . . . quaerit* (*Aen.* 9.58)). One important action that differs between the Silian and Virgilian 'enemy at the gates' is that rather than banging at the gates with his spear as Silius' Hannibal does (*Pun.* 12.565–6)), Turnus casts his spear:

'en,' ait et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras,
principium pugnae, et campo sese arduus infert.

Aen. 9.52–3

('Look!' he says, and spinning his spear hurls it into the air to start the battle, and, sitting tall, charges over the plain.)

The detail of Hannibal rattling the gates of Rome is a later tradition, the dramatic incarnation of *Hannibal ad portas*, inspiring Silius to embellish the Virgilian spear-cast.¹²⁹ But there is a pre-Virgilian tradition relating to Hannibal, recorded in Cicero and Pliny the Elder, in which, when Hannibal reached the walls of Rome, he cast his spear within the walls in an echo of the ritual declaration, *belli indictio*, performed by the *fetiales*, whereby a spear made of cornel-wood was ritually thrown

¹²⁸ For discussion of further connections to Ennius in Book 12, see Dorfbauer (2008).

¹²⁹ Horsfall (1974), 83–4.

into enemy territory to indicate the beginning of the war (*principium pugnae*).¹³⁰ It is effectively with this ritual that the narrative of *Annales* 7 and the Punic Wars begin.¹³¹ As commentators from Servius on point out, Turnus at *Aeneid* 9.52–3 is echoing this Roman way of declaring war. Tolumnius will later echo the action when he restarts the war by breaking the treaty with the launch of his spear (*Aen.* 12.266–9), this time of fœtal cornel-wood (*cornus* (*Aen.* 12.267)).¹³² The detail of Hannibal's spear-cast in the accounts of his march on Rome, is, as Horsfall argued, 'clearly of annalistic origin'.¹³³ It remains a tentative, though significant, possibility that Virgil was closer to Ennius in this passage than Silius later would be, and that one of those 'annalistic' sources may have been Ennius' *Annales* in its story of a fundamental moment in Roman collective memory.¹³⁴

iii. Ends: Aeneas, Turnus, and Zama

The culminating battle of the Second Punic War was fought on African soil in Zama, about 20 miles west of the city of Carthage. The invaded had become the invaders, as Scipio landed with his fleet in the Bay of Carthage (*Africa terribili tremuit horrida terra tumultu*, 'the land of Africa trembled, shuddering with the terrible tumult' (*Ann.* 309)). With Hannibal recalled, a peace treaty already ratified by the Senate and people at Rome was broken, and the two fabled greatest leaders in the world would face one another on the field in the battle of Zama, which was seen by reporters as a pivotal moment in world history. Zama provided a 'reversal' of the stunning Roman

¹³⁰ For the fœtal procedure, see Livy 1.32.12–14 with Ogilvie (1965) ad loc. In later years the procedure was transferred to the Campus Martius (Rich (1976)). For the pre-Virgilian tradition of Hannibal's spear, see Horsfall (1974), 84 with n. 23: the main sources are Plin. *HN* 34.32; Cic. *Fin.* 4.22.

¹³¹ *Appius indixit Carthaginensibus bellum* ('Appius declared war on the Carthaginians' (*Ann.* 216)). Rich (1976), 125. Jupiter at *Aen.* 10.15 uses fœtal language, possibly from Ennius (Norden (1915) 51 n. 2; cf. Page (1900) on *Aen.* 10.15).

¹³² Cf. Horsfall (1974), 84 n. 25; Hardie (1994) on 9.52–3; Tarrant (2012) on 12.266.

¹³³ Horsfall (1974), 84.

¹³⁴ The essentially Roman way of declaring war would not necessarily be out of place in Ennius, who also seems to have given Hannibal *legiones*: see n. 122 above.

defeat at Cannae. The invaders were now invaded, and the 'winners' 'losers'.¹³⁵

Virgil's culminating battle in the closing book of the *Aeneid* is an Ennian one, involving cavalry fighting and siege warfare (12.576), where both sides strive with Ennian vigour (*uiri summa nituntur opum ui*, 'the men strain with utmost force of strength' (*Aen.* 12.552)) and cover the sky with iron rain (*ferreus . . . imber* (12.284)).¹³⁶ At the height of battle, Juno, who has been watching events in pre-Ennian geography on what is not yet the Alban Mount (12.134–5), now on a cloud, is reconciled by Jupiter in the event that directly precedes her reconciliation in the Punic books of the *Annales*.¹³⁷ Though the fighting takes place on Italian soil, the significance of geography shifts from the physical space of the landscape to the simile world.¹³⁸ At the centre of the conflict, the spectators see two heroes 'born on opposite sides of the world' in combat (*genitos diuersis partibus orbis* (*Aen.* 12.708)). But in the similes, the sides of the world they are associated with shift from east to west and from Roman to alien. The book opens with the famous simile comparing Turnus to a Punic lion:

Poenorum qualis in aruis
saucius ille graui uenantum uulnere pectus
tum demum mouet arma leo, gaudetque comantis
excutiens ceruice toros fixumque latronis
impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento:
haud secus accenso gliscit uiolentia Turno.

Aen. 12.4–9

(As in the fields of Carthage a lion, gravely wounded in the chest by hunters, at last goes into battle and revels in it, shaking out the mane on his neck; he fearlessly breaks off the shaft of the brigand's weapon fixed in his body and roars with bloody mouth: just like this, violence swells in blazing Turnus.)

¹³⁵ On the Trojans as 'losers' (at Troy) who become 'winners' by repeating 'with a difference' the war at Troy on Italian soil in the second half of the *Aeneid*, see esp. Quint (1993); for the Second Punic War itself as reversal of the Trojan War, see esp. Sil. *Pun.* 1.114–15, where Hannibal threatens to re-enact the doom of Troy (*Romanos. | ferro igni sequar Rhoeteaque fata reuoulam*, 'I will pursue the Romans with fire and sword and re-enact the fate of Troy').

¹³⁶ Cf. *Ann.* 151, 266. For Ennian fighting, cf. Horsfall (2003), 473. For further verbal parallels, see Appendix.

¹³⁷ Feeney (1984).

¹³⁸ Faunus' tree is the important exception at 12.766–83. Influential discussions of the geographical similes in *Aeneid* 12 are Perutelli (1972) and Cairns (1989), 109–12.

Strongly associating him with the Punic landscape, the comparison begins to cast Turnus from the outset in the role of Hannibal 'before Hannibal'.¹³⁹ Aeneas, by contrast, leaving Carthage in lines evoking Ennian elephants, has landed in Italy with a 'stranger army' (*aduena . . . exercitus* (*Aen.* 7.38–9)) rowing their fleet onto foreign soil.¹⁴⁰ He fights Turnus, who is represented, in part, as a Roman hero fighting for his *patria*. Yet the similes in Book 12 fundamentally associate the Trojan with Italy. At 12.749–55 he is likened to an Umbrian hound, and at 12.701–3 to 'Father Apennine' (*pater Appenninus*) and the geography of the Roman Empire, including Mount Eryx in Sicily and Mount Athos in Macedonia.¹⁴¹

quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis
cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque niuali
uertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras.

Aen. 12.701–3

(Huge he was as Mount Athos, or Mount Eryx, or Father Apennine himself when he roars with his shimmering holm-oaks and delights to raise his snowy head to heaven.)

'The origin of the Roman race' (*Romanae stirpis origo* (12.166)), Aeneas, symbolically carrying his Roman progeny into battle on his shield,¹⁴² in Book 12, in particular, also fights as a proto-Roman, hurling his spear in imitation of Jupiter (*Aen.* 12.921–3), but also of the Scipiones, 'two thunderbolts of war' (*duo fulmina belli* (*Aen.* 6.842)).¹⁴³

The Punic possibilities implicit in *Aeneid* 12 are brought out in a particularly interesting reading of the duel in the closing book of the epic in Book 17 of Silius' *Punica*. Virgil's use of memory-laden

¹³⁹ Cf. Cairns (1989), 111: 'No comparison could have distanced Turnus from Italy more effectively in Roman eyes than one associating him with Carthage'. Cf. Galinsky (1968), 175.

¹⁴⁰ *it nigrum campis agmen* ('a black column moves along the plain' (*Aen.* 4.404)) with Serv. ad loc.: *hemistichium Ennii de elephantis dictum* = *Ann.* 502. Skutsch remarks: 'Hannibal's approach to Italy through the plains of Gaul or his movements in the Po valley before he lost many of the beasts in crossing the Apennines seem likely settings' (pp. 656–7).

¹⁴¹ See esp. Cairns (1989), 109, on the connection with Appenninus as 'a staggeringly bold way of expressing the Italian character of Aeneas and indeed the whole of the Trojan race' and Tarrant (2012) on 12.701–3 ('The foreign origin of A. . . is implicitly undone as he is assimilated to the heart of the Italian landscape').

¹⁴² *Aen.* 8.731. Strategically, however, not the Punic Wars.

¹⁴³ The phrase *belli fulmen* may go back to Ennius: Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.842; Skutsch (1968), 145–50; cf. O'Hara (1996), 51; cf. Lucr. 3.1034, Ch. 1 sect. II n. 37.

geography at the simile level becomes reality in Silius at the narrative level, when a Punic leader fights to defend African soil with the whole of Italy as his spectator (*tota | spectante Ausonia* (17.519–20)). Silius' account of Zama, mirroring the final conflict in the *Aeneid*, is set up as a fight in which two of the greatest heroes the world has ever seen, brought up on opposite sides of the earth, finally stand head to head (*educti diuersis orbis in oris* (9.434); cf. *Aen.* 12.708, *genitos diuersis partibus orbis* (of Turnus and Aeneas)). While large forces are involved, this is essentially a fight between two epic heroes: *in ducibus stabant spes et uictoria solis* ('hope of victory rested on the leaders alone' (17.400)), where Scipio, Aeneas-like, seeks out a single opponent alone (*Hannibal unus*, 'Hannibal alone' (17.512); *solum... Turnum |... solum*, 'Turnus alone... alone' (*Aen.* 12.466–7)).¹⁴⁴ 'Africanus' carries a shield to war engraved with the images of his father and uncle, effectively filling in the Punic gaps in the images on Aeneas' shield as described in the *Aeneid* (17.396–8), in a battle where 'Vergilius' is metapoetically figured as one of the characters fighting on the battlefield (17.441), pairing the soldier Ennius at *Punica* 12.393–413.

Silius reads Virgil's final conflict as a proto-Zama. Like the war in the *Aeneid*, it once again reverses the Trojan War as well as the Roman defeat at Cannae. But there was a famous Zama in Roman epic before Virgil. Silius' Scipio paraphrases Ennius' statement that only Homer could adequately sing the praises of Scipio when he meets the poet of the *Iliad* in the underworld (*Pun.* 13.793–7), and is addressed in the final lines of the poem in Ennian terms as *inuicte* ('invincible', 'undefeated' (*Pun.* 17.651)).¹⁴⁵ Silius' version of Zama is signalled as a re-enactment with a difference of the then most famous fight in Roman epic poetry, the duel between Turnus and Aeneas in Book 12 of Virgil's epic, but at the same time, the *Punica* was written as a (seventeen-book) epic on a quintessentially Ennian subject, an

¹⁴⁴ Reinforced at *Pun.* 17.401–5 with speculation as to what would have happened if Scipio had been born in Africa and vice versa. Hannibal escapes the necessary death—following the Virgilian plot—only by the special petition of Juno on the proviso that he never again set foot on Italian soil (*Pun.* 17.366). Hardie (1993), 39, notes that the *tutas latebras* into which Hannibal flees figure an equivalent to the *umbræ* into which Turnus' shade flees, never to menace Latium again.

¹⁴⁵ *Scipio inuicte*, *Op. inc.* 5 Skutsch; Courtney *FLP*, p. 26, is probably right to conclude that the fragment belongs to the *Annales*. For Ennius' statement about the praises of Scipio, see Vahlen², p. 212 (= *Suidas*, s.v. *Ἐννίος*) with Häußler (1978), 161.

Ennian preoccupation brought out in a cameo of the archaic poet himself fighting as a literary soldier on Silius' epic battlefield. This weaving together of two key poems in the Roman epic tradition, combining the subject matter of one with the battle narrative of the other, feeds back into Virgil's war in Italy, activating, even more strongly, a sense in *Aeneid* 12 of latent content from the *Annales* about Zama and what was perhaps the most important 'face to face' contest in Rome's martial history. Silius cannot help us recover lost Ennian material, but his reading of Virgil tantalizingly points to the possibilities not just of a Punic background, but an Ennian Punic background behind the showdown at the end of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

V. CONCLUSION

The Punic Wars, in particular the war with Hannibal, were seen as a crucial point in Rome's destiny, a first step to world empire and fought for the very existence of Rome.¹⁴⁶ That conflict with Carthage was the defining theme of the first two historical epics in Latin literature. In acting out war games in the very corner of Sicily where some of the key action of the First Punic War occurred, and staging a war on Italian soil which pre-echoes important moments of the Second Punic War in Ennius' *Annales*, the *Aeneid* stages at a time set 'first' the two wars whose importance in Roman history and Roman cultural memory had given weight to the epics of Ennius and Naevius, in the very geography in which they occurred. The memories of the shared struggle of 'our ancestors' in the Punic Wars which did so much to define Rome are retrojected to the period of *pater* Aeneas, and to the temporal and thematic domain monopolized by the *Aeneid*. As with the claim to antiquity which Ennius volubly shunned (but secretly adopted), by giving prominence to the landscape and memories of the First Punic War, the *Aeneid*, once again, takes up what Ennius ostensibly rejected in his explicit statements of poetic intent in order to place itself 'before' the *Annales*: Naevius and the narrative of the First Punic War.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Livy 29.17.6 (a Locrian embassy to Rome): *in discrimine est nunc humanum omne genus, utrum uos an Carthaginenses principes orbis terrarum uideat*: 'the entire human race is now at a critical juncture, waiting to see whether you or the Carthaginians will be rulers of the world'. (Cf. Lucr. 3.832 ff. with Kenney (1984) on 3.834–42; 3.833–7 on possible Ennian origins.)

Epic Examples

I. INTRODUCTION

When he is about to fight the final duel at the climax of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas pauses to comfort and instruct his growing son:

disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem,
 fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
 defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet.
 tu facito, mox cum matura adoleuerit aetas,
 sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
 et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitet Hector.

Aen. 12.435–40

(Learn virtue, boy, from me and real toil; learn fortune from others. Today my hand will defend you in war and lead you to great prizes. When, by and by, your years will have grown to ripeness, see to it that you remember, and, as you recall the examples set by your people, that your spirit rises at the thought of father Aeneas and your uncle Hector.)

Like Anchises' injunction in the underworld as he looks forward to future Rome, *tu . . . Romane, memento* ('you . . . Roman, remember' (6.851)), Aeneas' words seem momentarily to reach out beyond the immediate context to address the poem's readers in future Rome. Strikingly, *puer* (12.435) suggests a child unrelated to the speaker,¹ and though Anchises' *Romane* is more clearly directed to the Roman reader, there is a sense that the words *disce, puer* ('learn, boy'), too, apply at another level, beyond the immediate addressee Ascanius, to the boy reader of epic in future Rome, who will remember the epic

¹ Dickey (2002), 192; Tarrant (2012) ad loc.: 'remarkable . . . in his father's mouth'.

heroes he has read about as he grows.² In some ways, then, these lines function as instructions about how epic poems should be read. The 'implied' boy reader will look to epic poetry, and to its heroes in particular—Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, Hector in the *Iliad*—as formative models of virtue, remembering their deeds as he himself matures (12.438–9), like the growing child in *Eclogue* 4 who will learn the nature of *uirtus* from his heroic reading (*Ecl.* 4.26–7).³ On a metaliterary level, *pater Aeneas* (12.440), the epic's hero, points to the *Aeneid* itself, just as *Hector* (12.440) suggests Homer's *Iliad* to which Virgil's poem seeks to be the parallel for Rome.⁴ For Roman readers, epic poetry is to be a primary source of *exempla*.

The *Aeneid* is centrally concerned to construct itself as a poem with ambitions to play a fundamental role in the education of young Romans, and in doing so consciously replaces the role long played by the *Annales* as an epic school text.⁵ Alison Keith has discussed how Roman epic and Roman education are intimately linked. Latin epic knowingly plays a role within the social and institutional contexts in which it was received, implanting itself as a key part of the 'cultural capital' of Roman society in the consciousness of its young readers.⁶ The connection between epic and *exemplum*, therefore, is particularly interesting because one of the central methods which Roman education traditionally employed was *exempla*, good and bad, to educate the young and transmit to future generations the memory of the

² See Tarrant (2012) ad loc. for the 'generalizing' sense of *puer* paralleled in *Romane* at 6.851: 'in both cases the individual stands for a wider audience that is meant to hear and respond to the speaker's message'. *exempla tuorum* (12.339) can likewise be focalized through the perspective of Virgilian time as the examples set by the ancestors of all Romans, while *pater Aeneas* regularly designates Aeneas as father of the Roman people rather than simply Ascanius' father (*Aen.* 1.580, etc.; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.15). For Aeneas as teacher by example, cf. Evander's motivation for sending Pallas to accompany him: *sub te . . . magistro | . . . tua cernere facta | adulescat, primis et te miretur ab annis* ('under you as his teacher . . . let him get used to observing your deeds and admire you from his early years' (*Aen.* 8.515–17)).

³ *simul heroum laudes et facta parentis | iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere uirtus* ('as soon as you can read about the glories of heroes and the deeds of your father, and know what valour is').

⁴ The *re-* in *repetentem* and *memor* of 12.439 can work on a metaliterary level as well, signalling the read and remembered past. On epic poets figured metapoetically in their epic heroes, see esp. Kofler (2003).

⁵ Cf. Ch. 1 for the reading of the *Annales* in the first century BC. This does not mean that the *only* intended audience of the *Aeneid* is schoolboys, but rather that a role in Roman education is part of the poem's self-constructed function as the epic of Rome.

⁶ Keith (2000), ch. 2, 'Epic and Education'.

figures of the past. As Quintilian exhorted his readers in the first century AD:

sed magis etiam quae sunt tradita antiquitus dicta ac facta praeclare et nosse et animo semper agitare conueniet. quae profecto nusquam plura maioraque quam in nostrae ciuitatis monumentis reperientur. an fortitudinem, iustitiam, fidem, continentiam, frugalitatem, contemptum doloris ac mortis melius alii docebunt quam Fabricii, Curii, Reguli, Decii, Mucii alique innumerabiles? quantum enim Graeci praeceptis ualent, tantum Romani, quod est maius, exemplis. (12.2.29–30)

(Even more important are the records of the notable sayings and actions of the past. Nowhere is there a larger or more striking supply of these than in the history of our own country. Could there be any better teachers of courage, justice, loyalty, self-control, frugality, or contempt for pain and death than men like Fabricius, Curius, Regulus, Decius, Mucius, and countless others? Rome is as strong in examples as Greece is in precepts; and examples are more important.)⁷

Memory could be aided by handbooks of examples like Cornelius Nepos' *Exempla* and *De uiris illustribus*, Hyginus' *De uita illustrium uirorum* and *Exempla*, and Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*,⁸ but, as the second section of this chapter argues, to a greater degree and even before such handbooks were compiled, by childhood reading of Ennius' *Annales*.

As recent scholarship has increasingly emphasized, *exempla* played a fundamental role in Roman culture and Roman memory.⁹ In Republican Rome, not just confined to educational contexts, the examples of the past were a crucially pervasive presence in everyday life and everyday memory: from the *imagines* of elite households to public monuments and the coins in Roman pockets, exemplary discourse was a key way of understanding and transmitting the past.¹⁰ This presence in Roman memory culture meant that exemplarity was exploited, too, as a key feature not only of the oratorical and political activity in the period but crucially of its burgeoning

⁷ trans. Russell (2001). Livy (*praef.* 10) expresses similar sentiments.

⁸ Dated to Tiberius' reign: cf. Wardle (1998), 1–6. For the background to Valerius' genre, see esp. Skidmore (1996), 45–7.

⁹ See esp. Hölkeskamp (1996); Roller (2004); Walter (2004); Gowing (2005); Bücher (2006).

¹⁰ Flower (1996); Hölkeskamp (1996); Stemmler (2000); Walter (2004); Bücher (2006); van der Blom (2010).

literary activity as well, from drama to history and epic.¹¹ Exemplarity and exemplary memory were central preoccupations in Augustan Rome, too. The *princeps* famously let it be known that he himself would read with exemplary citation in mind.¹² In the *Res Gestae*, he describes part of his own successfully fulfilled role as preserving, transmitting, and emulating the *exempla* of the past,¹³ an achievement partly realized in the gallery of the *summi uiri*, among them Q. Fabius Maximus, in the Forum Augustum.¹⁴ Writers in the period frequently deal with Roman example. Livy, writing history with near-epic ambitions, has been decisively shown to be a writer centrally concerned with exemplarity.¹⁵ So, too, Horace, who foregrounds Roman *exempla* in a number of the *Odes*, characterizes good contemporary poetry in his letter to Augustus as poetry that can claim to be useful to the city (*utilis urbi*) by equipping the rising generation with *exempla* (*orientia tempora notis | instruit exemplis* (*Epist.* 2.1.124, 130–1)).¹⁶ As I show in Sections III and IV, exemplary concerns are crucial to the *Aeneid*, too.

One of the things that make *exemplum* particularly attractive in literature is that its concision allows a poem to repeat and at the same time distort the past to which it refers. As much recent work on Roman example stresses, rather than constituting definitive, cut-and-dried moral directives used to make a specific and unequivocal points, *exempla*, are, in fact, far more complex than that.¹⁷ At the most basic level, *exempla* are referential: each citation of an example

¹¹ For literature as a source of *exempla*, cf. Cic. *Arch.* 14 and Chaplin (2000), 15. On prose history, see e.g. Walter (2004) and Bücher (2006). On Cicero, see van der Blom (2010). From a later perspective, see Bloomer (1992); Skidmore (1996); Leigh (1997), ch. 5 (on Lucan); Chaplin (2000) (on Livy); Langlands (2006), (2008), and (2011); Lucarelli (2007) (on Valerius Maximus); Tipping (2010) (on Silius Italicus).

¹² *in euoluendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aequae sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice uel priuatim salubria* ('In reading authors in Greek or Latin there was nothing for which he looked out more carefully than precepts and examples which could be of benefit in private and public life') (Suet. *Aug.* 89.2).

¹³ *Mon. Anc.* 8.5.

¹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 describes how Augustus pronounced through an edict that these were set up specifically as examples which he and future rulers should be obliged to follow *uelut ad exemplar*. Cf. Chaplin (2000), 173–8.

¹⁵ Central is Chaplin (2000); see also Stem (2007).

¹⁶ On exemplarity in the *Odes*, see esp. Lowrie (1997).

¹⁷ On the complexity and ambiguity of *exempla* and their use by Roman writers, see esp. Lowrie (1997), 239–44; Chaplin (2000); Roller (2004); Stem (2007); Langlands (2008).

must make reference to a narrative that exists outside the text (whether in previous literary texts or in other modes of commemoration). The meaning of a given instance is not, therefore, completely fixed, requiring the reader to bring into play previous instances from literature or other aspects of collective memory. Moreover, *exempla* are fundamentally 'iterative'.¹⁸ As Langlands puts it, 'exemplary stories are designed to be told again and again to different audiences, and there is consequently no final definitive meaning of any narrative'.¹⁹ Far from the traditional picture of an *exemplum* as an ossified, cut-and-dried instance with unequivocal meaning, therefore, the use of example in literature is in fact driven by 'exemplary textual dynamics' that destabilize any given meaning.²⁰ This aspect of exemplary discourse has been seen to characterize its use in Augustan literature, where the slipperiness of *exemplum* and the capacity of examples to encourage readers to read the past (and the present) in multiple ways provides another tool in the expression of the familiar 'further voices' that critics have long detected in the literature of the period. Livy's versions of Roman *exempla*, in particular, have received much attention, as highly subtle instances that are always susceptible to interpretation.²¹

Virgil's use of *exempla*, too, shows a self-conscious awareness that exemplary instances and models are slippery, prone to readings from different perspectives and requiring interpretations that draw on material extraneous to the text in order to arrive at judgements about the precise 'lesson' to be learned. Exemplary behaviour is not presented as unequivocally good (*exempla uirtutis*) or unequivocally bad (*exempla mala*). In the passage quoted earlier, in which the *Aeneid* programmatically sets up its eponymous hero as an exemplar of *uirtus* (*disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem*, 'learn virtue from me, boy, and real labour' (*Aen.* 12.435)), it is not only allusion to Hector in Homer's epic that colours the moment, but the far less 'virtuous' fate of Sophocles' *Ajax*, Accius' translation of which was available to Virgil, so adding what Oliver Lyne, one of the most famous critics of the 'Harvard School', identifies as 'a disturbing

¹⁸ Lyons (1989); Langlands (2008).

¹⁹ Langlands (2008), 162. See also Chaplin (2000).

²⁰ For the term, see Langlands (2008), 162.

²¹ Feldherr (1998); Chaplin (2000); Stem (2007); Stevenson (2011). Cf. also Lowrie (1997), 239–44, on Horace's examples.

further voice'.²² The textual dynamics of example in Virgil are complex and draw on a range of both literary and historical memory, not least memory of Ennius' *Annales*. As I will show, however, the dialogic potential of *exempla* is not unique to the *Aeneid* in the Roman epic tradition, but was already a discernable feature of the *exempla* of its main Roman epic predecessor.²³

In terms of poetic succession, moreover, the slipperiness of *exemplum* and its potential for manipulating how we see the past can make it particularly attractive to a belated poet, because its deceptively simple concision allows the figure, even more than direct verbal allusion, to repeat and also distort the literary past to which it refers. This chapter argues that Ennius had set Rome's founding examples in epic poetry and goes on to examine the *Aeneid*'s response to its predecessor as the primary epic source of Roman examples. Coming belatedly to the tradition of literary *exempla*-writing in Roman epic, the *Aeneid* exploits this 'iterative' function of example and its consequent tendency to elude fixed meaning in order to dislodge the old poet from his authoritative position as the preserver of Roman exemplary memory.

II. ENNIUS AND EXEMPLARY EPIC

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem

Ann. 363

(one man, by delaying, restored the state for us)

²² Lyne (1987), 10: 'we have the troubling, allusive suggestion of something quite different [from] . . . the hero bent on establishing peace and the common good . . . a relentless, passionate hero, whose essentially selfish obsession with honour led to madness and suicide. A disturbing further voice'. On the 'Harvard School' in *Aeneid* criticism (a term which seems to go back to Johnson (1976) though, given Lyne's later influence, should perhaps be 'the Harvard-Balliol School'), see esp. comments by: Johnson (1976), ch. 1; Clausen in Horsfall (1995), 313–15; Hardie (1998), 94–5. Compare Sophocles *Ajax* 550–1 and Accius *Armorum iudicium* 171 Dangel, *uirtutis par, dispar fortunis patris!* ('be like your father in virtue, unlike him in fortune!'), where the context may not be the same as it is in Sophocles—Ajax's words before he commits suicide—but, like Aeneas here, his words to his son before he goes to battle: see Jocelyn (1965), 127–9; Lyne (1987), 9; and Tarrant (2012) on 12.435–6. The idea of Aeneas as *exemplum* of *uirtus*, particularly in this final duel, famously raises serious problems: see e.g. Putnam (1965), 243; for a dissenting voice, cf. Stahl (1990).

²³ In general on Ennian 'further voices', see Goldberg (1995), 10–11, 22; Leigh (2001), 12–13; Elliott (2007).

A group of lines, of which the first has become one of the poem's most famous, are quoted by a number of sources and attested by Macrobius for Book 12 of the *Annales*:

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
ergo postque magisque uiri nunc gloria claret.
Ann. 363–5²⁴

(One man by delaying restored the state for us. He did not put rumours before our safety. Therefore, the later and the more, the hero's glory now shines out.)²⁵

The reference is to Quintus Fabius Maximus, the hero of the Second Punic War, whose tactic of delay—shadowing the Carthaginians but always refusing to engage them in pitched battle—despite pressure and criticism from his contemporaries, made a crucial contribution to Roman victory in the war against Hannibal. These events were narrated earlier in the *Annales*, falling primarily within the narrative scope of Book 8. The attestation of this fragment for a book much later than Book 9, where the death of Fabius Maximus in 203 BC would fall, explains the sense already felt from the use of time in the passage (the past tenses of 363 and 364 (*restituit*; *ponebat*), followed by the adverbial *post* and *nunc* with a present tense in line 365 (*claret*)) that its context must be significantly later than Fabius' death.²⁶ The lost lines may have told more of the story, with the preserved lines memorably summing up the action, but even so the concise phrasing strongly suggests the discourse of *exemplum*: the speaker singles out the hero (*unus homo*, 'one man'), alluding to Fabius' epithet, and summing up his actions from the point of view of one aspect, his *cunctatio*, and more broadly his sacrifice of his own immediate reputation for the larger benefit of the state. The past is packaged up in the memorable form of the action of a specific individual and brought to bear on the present.²⁷ In reception, *Annales* 363 was to become one of the most persistently quoted lines of the

²⁴ = Macrobius 6.1.23 (*Ann.* 363); Cic. *Off.* 1.84; Sen. 10; Serv. on *Aen.* 6.845 (*Ann.* 363).

²⁵ On *postque magisque*, see Skutsch ad loc.

²⁶ Skutsch, p. 530; Paladini on *Ann.* 381–3 Flores.

²⁷ Although the cognomen *proper* seems to have crystallized later in the tradition (Stanton (1971)), Skutsch is probably right in thinking that the nickname '*cunctator*' may have won currency as early as the Hannibalic War' (p. 531), and that Ennius (if he was not its originator: Skutsch, p. 531) is therefore alluding specifically to Fabius'

epic, a shorthand way of evoking both the Fabian *exemplum* of delay as service to the state and the poem that commemorated it.²⁸ It seems, moreover, that Ennius did not just create *exempla* but was also aware of their rhetorical power when deployed. The context of *Annales* 363–5 is probably a speech. If Badian and Skutsch are right, the lines originally appeared as part of an oration defending Aemilius Paullus during the Ligurian campaign in 181 bc, when Aemilius decided to keep his troops in the camp, though they were eager to fight.²⁹ Aemilius' troops would particularly resent a strategy of delay that kept them from home for an extended period of time; the Fabian example of cunctation would therefore become a sophisticated way of silencing the hearsay (*rumores*) of the disgruntled troops and junior commanders by evoking an exemplar from the Second Punic War—and from the earlier books of the *Annales*—in a fight against an enemy who had once made an alliance with Carthage.³⁰

Famous exemplary characters staking their lives or reputations for Rome feature in other fragments of the *Annales*, too. *Annales* 191–4, quoted by the grammarian Nonius Marcellus for the word *prognariter* and attested for Book 6, contain an early example of the *deutio* formula, supposedly used by the Decii Mures when they vowed their lives together with that of the enemy to the gods of the underworld, riding headlong into the opposing ranks in order to bring about the enemy's destruction along with their own:

diui hoc audite parumper:
ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis
certando prudens animam de corpore mitto,
<sic>

Ann. 191–4 = *Non.* 150.7

(Gods, hear my prayer a little while: just as on behalf of the Roman people, with foreknowledge and awareness, fighting in arms, I dispatch the life from my body, <so>)

sobriquet here. For the particularity of named individuals in exemplification, cf. the definitions in *Rhet. Her.* 4.62: *exemplum est alicuius facti aut dicti praeteriti cum certi auctoris nomine propositio* ('an *exemplum* is the statement of something done or said in the past, along with the definite name of the doer or author'); cf. also *Cic. Inv. Rhet.* 1.49. For concision and the broader element of personal sacrifice for the benefit of the larger community as one of the hallmarks of Roman historical *exempla*, cf. Walter (2004), 52.

²⁸ See esp. Stanton (1971); Tipping (2010), 107–15.

²⁹ Skutsch, pp. 530–1; Badian (1972), 176. ³⁰ Livy 28.46.9–11.

The *deutio* of the Decii is one of the most famous Roman historical *exempla*.³¹ Successive generations of P. Decii Mures, father, son, and grandson, were each thought to have devoted their lives in battle: the first (consul in 340) against the Latins at the river Vesperis, the second, (consul in 312, 308, 297, and 295), following the example of his father, at Sentinum in 295, and the third (consul in 279), who attempted a *deutio* against the Epirote forces at the battle of Ausculum in 279. The enterprise of the grandson, which must have resulted in failure since the Romans lost to Pyrrhus, is less well attested.³² Skutsch argues that Ennius told the story of this third failed *deutio* at Ausculum here, which was then picked up by the few later surviving sources of the more obscure account;³³ but it is also possible that Book 6 did not cover the Pyrrhic War alone, but stretched back to cover the Third Samnite War, too, and that the reference could therefore be to the successful *deutio* of the second Decius Mus.³⁴

On the surface at least, the Decian *deutio* constitutes the ideal Republican *exemplum*: the ultimate self-sacrifice for the state, it could also provide an instance of a ‘precedent fulfilled’,³⁵ emulated by succeeding generations of the same family, symbolizing the attainment of *gloria* for the individual and his *gens* that also ensures the continuity through the generations of the exemplary behaviour on which the Roman Republic is built. The episode of the second Decius was dramatized by Accius—who would have had Ennius’ account in the *Annales* available to him as a source—in a *fabula praetexta* known by the title *Decii* or *Aeneadae*, composed not long after Ennius’ epic.³⁶ As far as might be seen from surviving fragments, the play seems to have been specifically concerned with the exemplary nature of the deed. The drama centred on the second Decius, who re-enacts the *exemplum* of his father by dedicating his life for Rome at the battle of Sentinum *patrio exemplo* (*patrio exemplo me dicabo atque animam*

³¹ Litchfield (1914), 46–8; Bücher (2006), 185–6.

³² Cic. *Tusc.* 1.89; *Fin.* 2.61. There may be evidence that the *deutio* was a double failure, with the younger Decius escaping alive: [Aur. Vict.] *De uir. Ill.* 36.1 with Skutsch (1987), 514 (disputed by Cornell (1987), 515).

³³ Skutsch, pp. 353–4. Cf. Martina (1979), 72–3, who speculates that the tradition was an Ennian invention.

³⁴ Cornell (1986), (1987). If Cornell is right about the narrative scope of the book, Ennius could, of course, have covered both *deutiones* in Book 6. Cf. Jackson on *Ann.* 204–7 Flores for a useful summary of the scholarly history of both positions.

³⁵ Bloomer (1992), 227.

³⁶ Manuwald, p. 202. For Accius’ reading of Ennius, see Suerbaum (2002), 164.

deuoro hostibus, ‘on my father’s example I will dedicate myself and offer my life to the enemy’ (11 Manuwald = 680 Dangel)).³⁷ The alternative title *Aeneadae* has aroused particular interest in that one of the things it suggests the play emphasized was that, through their *deuotiones*, the Decii could come close to Aeneas, the originator of the Roman people. As Manuwald points out, through their outstanding sacrifice in the service of the larger community, in Accius’ play, the Decii prove themselves to be paradigmatic descendants of Aeneas, and function as examples to be followed.³⁸ Yet the exemplary paradigm could be more fragile than this implies: according to one tradition, which, if Skutsch is right, was represented or even invented in the *Annales*, the third Decius failed at *deuotio*, and even the second of the three could later be presented as a lesser, rasher hero than his father.³⁹ The Decii could, on this view, be seen as a paradigm for degeneration rather than successful emulation. How the Decian example was presented by Ennius or Accius, therefore, and whether it was presented in an unequivocally positive light, remains an open question.

Beyond these two episodes, there is evidence that the *Annales* might be seen much more broadly as the original ‘exemplary epic’: a poem concerned with the great figures of the Roman past presented in terms of their exemplary deeds.⁴⁰ The probable context within which *Annales* 156 fits is an account of Titus Manlius Torquatus (consul in 347, 345, 340) who put his own son to death for breach of military discipline in a famous example of Roman *seueritas* and *disciplina*.⁴¹ *Annales* 456 describes Manius Curius Dentatus, Cato’s ideal Roman,⁴² who could not be bribed by the Samnites, in terms of the traditional Roman virtues of *fortitudo* and *frugalitas*: a man ‘whom no one could conquer with sword or money’ (*quem nemo ferro potuit*

³⁷ *deuoro* is taken as a syncopated form of *deuouero*; *hostibus* might have been clarified in the lost words following: see Manuwald, pp. 217–18. A further fragment (10 Manuwald = 681 Dangel) is traditionally interpreted as Decius’ request, perhaps to the pontifex, to repeat the very formula his father had used: *quibus rem summam et patriam nostram quondam adauctauit pater* (‘with which my father once increased the state and our country’): for other possibilities, see Manuwald, p. 216.

³⁸ Manuwald, p. 205.

³⁹ Chaplin (2000), 113.

⁴⁰ For the phrase, cf. Tipping (2010) on Silius’ *Punica*.

⁴¹ Val. Max. 5.8.3 (under *de seueritate patrum in liberos*) and 2.7.6. I return to the complexities of this example later in this section.

⁴² Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 2.1.

superare nec auro (Ann. 456)).⁴³ Valerius Maximus says that he was 'a consummate pattern of Roman frugality and at the same time the perfect model of bravery' (4.3.5).⁴⁴ There is no attested book number, which means that, as Skutsch argues, the line could well be referring to Dentatus in retrospect as an example of old Roman virtues, again, as with the lines on Fabius, in some sort of rhetorical context. The poem's early books, too, contained candidates for exemplary presentation: the kings of Rome, for instance,⁴⁵ and the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, or Horatius Cocles holding the bridge.⁴⁶ Figures such as Cincinnatus, Camillus, and Marcellus would likely have featured in other books;⁴⁷ while Ennius' powerful friends could well have been counted among the poem's new exemplary heroes: the Scipiones for instance, or Cato, a self-fashioned exemplar of traditional Roman virtues 'so etwas wie ein Gedächtnisort', whose censorship fell within the period covered by Book 15 together with M. Fulvius Nobilior's victory and triumph over Ambracia.⁴⁸ Perhaps exemplary in their presentation, too, were, the mysterious Caecilius brothers, whose *fortitudo* reportedly inspired Ennius to change his

⁴³ = Cic. *Rep.* 3.6. For Dentatus as Roman *exemplum* in Cicero, cf. also *Sen.* 55–6.

⁴⁴ *exactissima norma Romanae frugalitatis idemque fortitudinis perfectissimum specimen*, who urged the Samnites to take back their bribes: *mementote me nec acie uinci nec pecunia corrumpi posse* ('remember that I can neither be beaten in battle nor corrupted with money' (4.3.5)). Ennius' line about Dentatus may be echoed by Valerius: see Skutsch, p. 613.

⁴⁵ For Numa and his religious piety, cf. *Ann.* 114–19 with Walter (2004), 374–82 on Numa as *exemplum*. *Ann.* 137, *postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit* ('after good Ancus closed his eyes to the light'), was read by Lucretius as an *exemplum* of the archetypal 'good king' (cf. Kenney (1984) on *Lucr.* 3.1025). It may be that Romulus was presented in a similar way as an exemplary king, *custos patriae* (as he is named after his death at *Ann.* 107).

⁴⁶ *Ann.* 123, *hic occasus datus est, at Horatius inclutus saltu* ('here the opportunity arose, but famous Horatius with a leap') (= Festus 188–90; attested for Book 2), which may denote the last of the Horatii or Horatius Cocles, if, as Skutsch doubts (p. 274), the transmitted book number is wrong.

⁴⁷ For possible extant references to Cincinnatus in the *Annales*, see Skutsch, pp. 306–8, 601. On Ennius and Camillus, see Skutsch, p. 306, and cf. also Walter (2004), 387, 396 n. 97, on the possible role of the *Annales* in the creation of Camillus as *exemplum*. See also Bruun (2000). For Marcellus, see *sed. inc.* xxxvi = Cic. *Arch.* 22.

⁴⁸ See *FRH* vol. i. p. 148, on Cato as a 'site of memory', embedded in Roman collective remembrance as an *exemplum* of old Roman values. On Cato in the *Annales*, see *sed. inc.* xxxvi and Skutsch, pp. 642–3; Gratwick (1982), 65. On Cato as Roman *exemplum*, cf. also Bücher (2006), 174–7. The obscure as well as the great could act in exemplary ways: see esp. *Ann.* 391–8 (an exemplary but humble tribune fighting alone under heavy fire during the siege of Ambracia).

mind and continue the work with Book 16.⁴⁹ Though explicitly negative examples are typically less common in Roman writing, the epic shows some traces of possible *exempla mala*, too: Titus Tatius (*O Tite, tute, Tati tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti*, ‘O Titus Tatius, tyrant, you have brought such great misfortunes upon yourself’ (*Ann.* 104)) or Mettus Fufetius, made an exemplum by his gruesome execution (*Ann.* 120, 124–6), and the ‘more than Punic treachery’ (*perfidia plus quam Punica* (Livy 21.4.9)) of Hannibal, the archetypal perfidious enemy in *Annales* 474–5.⁵⁰

Ennius’ *exempla*, though, were not quite so simple. Augustan and imperial exemplarity has long been identified as slippery, engaging in and open to multiple readings of the past it depicts. But Ennius’ exemplary text, too, contains similar embedded difficulties. *Annales* 183–90, at first sight, seem to provide a good example of positive Roman exemplary behaviour:

nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis:
non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes
ferro, non auro uitam cernamus utrique.
uosne uelit an me regnare era quidue ferat Fors
uirtute experiamur, et hoc simul accipe dictum:
quorum uirtuti belli fortuna pepercit
eorundem me libertati parcere certum est.
dono—ducite—doque—uolentibus cum magnis dis.

Ann. 183–90 = Cic. *Off.* 1.38

(I do not demand gold for myself, and do not give me a ransom: not by touting war but waging it with iron, and not with gold, let us both fight it out for our lives. Whether it is you or I whom Lady Fortune wishes should reign, or whatever she may bring, let it be by courage that we put it to the test; and hear this word too: those whose courage the fortune of war has spared, I have decided to spare their liberty. I grant them—take them—I give them to you—with the great gods willing.)

In the quoting source, *De officiis* 1.38, Cicero uses these then famous words from Ennius (*illa praeclara*) as an example to illustrate just

⁴⁹ Plin. *HN* 7.101: Skutsch, pp. 569–70, on *Ann.* XVI.vi.

⁵⁰ *at non sic dubius fuit hostis* | *Aeacida Burrus*, ‘but Pyrrhus, the descendant of Aecus, was not such an untrustworthy enemy’: for the probable reference to Hannibal (compared to the relative chivalry of Pyrrhus), see Skutsch ad loc. and Tomasco on *Ann.* 267–8 Flores. On *dubius*, see Skutsch ad loc. For Hannibal as *exemplum*, cf. Bücher (2006), 218–20 (on Hannibal in Cicero).

action in war.⁵¹ Like the unbribeable Dentatus, (*Ann.* 456), the speaker will not take money (*nec mi aurum posco*, 'I do not ask for gold for myself' (183)), in this case as a ransom for prisoners, preferring to release them and fight it out on the battlefield as a test of *uirtus* (*uirtute experiamur*, 'let it be by courage that we put it to the test' (186)). But, though Cicero elides the problems, these words are not, in fact, spoken by a Roman at all, but by Pyrrhus of Epirus, the probable context being the release of Roman prisoners after the battle of Heraclea. Pyrrhus acts in exactly the way we might expect Roman *maiores* to behave, capping his speech with words Ennius' audience would recognize as a Roman formula, *uolentibus cum magnis dis*, 'with the great gods willing' (*Ann.* 190).⁵² It is not Romans who act in this exemplary way, however, but Rome's enemy.⁵³ Conversely, when they are performed or deployed by Romans, *exempla* in the *Annales* can be double-edged and difficult. One of the most famous lines from the *Annales* is 156, *moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque* ('It is on ancient customs that the Roman state stands and on her men'). Cicero quotes the line as an epigraph to Book 5 of *De re publica*, and says that this is 'a verse which, whether because of its concise nature or because of its truth, he [Ennius] seems to me to have pronounced, as it were, from an oracle' (*quem quidem ille uersum uel breuitate uel ueritate tamquam ex oraculo mihi quondam esse effatus uidetur* (*Rep.* 5.1)), an oracular sense perhaps reinforced by the fact that the first four words of Ennius' line form a neat acronym of 'Mars'.⁵⁴ But the voice, as Elliott well points out, does not come like an oracle from nowhere, and was probably spoken by a character.⁵⁵ In its original context, it may be that *Annales* 156 was spoken by T. Manlius Torquatus as consul during the Latin War. In an episode narrated by Livy (8.6.9–8.8.2), when Torquatus' son tries to win his father's praise by engaging the enemy leader in single combat against explicit orders, the father puts

⁵¹ Skutsch ad loc.; Norden (1915), 80 n. 1.

⁵² Skutsch, p. 352. Cf. e.g. Cato *Agr.* 141; Plaut. *Mil.* 1351. Virgil adapts the phrase at *Aen.* 3.12 and 8.679 *cum . . . penatibus et magnis dis*: as Eden (1975) on 8.679 points out, both in 'situation[s] of the utmost solemnity' and in the latter case seeking to emphasize legality and justice. (Virgil's version also brings to the fore the connection with the cult name of the Penates, *magni di*: cf. Lloyd (1956).

⁵³ For a similar 'further voices' reading of this passage, see Leigh (2001), 12 and Elliott (2007), 52–4. The figure of Pyrrhus had much to attract the Messapian poet's sympathy: he was the saviour of Tarentum, and *Aeacides* (*Ann.* 167), a descendant of Achilles.

⁵⁴ Hendry (1994).

⁵⁵ Elliott (2007), 41–2.

the son to death with the words: *quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, soluisti* ('as far as you could, you have broken military discipline, on which the Roman state has stood to this day' (8.7.16)). Emulating one kind of exemplary behaviour by aspiring to, and succeeding in, defeating the enemy leader in single combat (the kind of deed that earned his father the name 'Torquatus'), Manlius' son ends up as part of a different kind of *exemplum*: *triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuuentuti* ('a grim example, but one beneficial for young men in the future' (Livy 8.7.17)).⁵⁶ Skutsch has made a plausible case that Livy's account of the episode in Book 8 goes back to a similar episode in Ennius.⁵⁷ It is probably Torquatus' sentiment, then, that is expressed in *Annales* 156. That *disciplina militaris* is partly responsible for the success of Rome is a common sentiment in Roman writing and something that the examples of the past can aim to instil.⁵⁸ Valerius Maximus, for instance, later opens his section of examples of military discipline with this announcement:⁵⁹

uenio nunc ad praecipuum decus et ad stabilimentum Romani imperii, salutari perseuerantia ad hoc tempus sincerum et incolume seruatum, militaris disciplinae tenacissimum uinculum, in cuius sinu ac tutela serenus tranquillisque beatae pacis status adquiescit. (2.7. *praef.*)

(I come now to the chief glory and mainstay of Roman empire, preserved intact and safe up to the present time with salutary steadfastness, the tenacious bond of military discipline, in the bosom and protection of which rests our serene and tranquil state of blessed peace.⁶⁰)

But Torquatus' execution of his own son, though it had benefits for military discipline, went beyond the bounds of the kind of behaviour

⁵⁶ Spoken by the elder Manlius but echoed in the narrative: *Manlianaque imperia non in praesentia modo horrenda sed exempli etiam tristic in posterum essent* ('the "orders of Manlius" not only made people shudder at the time, but also became a grim example for future generations' (8.7.22)). For the episode in Livy, cf. Chaplin (2000), 108–9. For the Manlian instance as a perversion of the emulative behaviour in a single family, embodied in the Decii legend, see Levene (1993), 222–3. Oakley (1998) points out on 8.7.17 that the notion of old-fashioned and unfeeling severity is often conveyed by the adjective *tristic*.

⁵⁷ Skutsch (1968), 51–3, and on *Ann.* 156; Oakley (1998) on Livy 8.7.16.

⁵⁸ Langlands (2008), 165 sums up the general view of *seueritas* in ancient and modern writing on Rome as 'one of the most Roman of virtues, associated with the *mos maiorum* and a bedrock of Roman greatness'.

⁵⁹ Cf. Oakley (1998), 445–6, for this and other expressions of the sentiment.

⁶⁰ Trans. Shackleton Bailey (2000).

that Romans would want unequivocally to emulate, and when, in Livy, he comes back to Rome, the young men turn away from him in loathing (8.12.1). If Skutsch is right about the Ennian context of *Annales* 156, the lessons of the Manlian example are far from clear-cut.⁶¹

However problematized *exempla* in the *Annales* might have been, Ennius was co-opting a powerful way of remembering. One of the key ways in which *memoria* could be transmitted, exemplary memory was an abiding characteristic of a number of traditions in early Republican Roman life. Even before the impact of Greek *paideia*, examples from the past and present seem to have been a typical tool for educating the young.⁶² Visual analogues could be found in the atria of private households, where the *imagines* of the noble ancestors of elite families were located; these were famously animated at funeral processions, where a train of actors would wear them, and funeral orations referring to the notable deeds of the deceased's ancestors delivered.⁶³ Jane Chaplin has emphasized how this habit of thought filtered into Augustan writing, but it was in fact already a key aspect of the burgeoning literary activity of the early Republic among Ennius' contemporaries and near-contemporaries, too.⁶⁴ In historiography, Cato was concerned with Roman historical *exempla* when writing the *Origines*, part of a larger agenda in his history of 'nationalizing' the traditions that had been primarily the inheritance of the elite, appropriating the cultural property of specific *gentes* by using the discourse of exemplarity to describe the acts of more humble figures. So, a longer fragment from Cato (*FRH* 3, 4.7a = 83 Peter), part quoted, part paraphrased by Aulus Gellius, tells of a tribune,

⁶¹ Langlands (2008) explores the problems of *seueritas-exempla*, with a focus on Valerius Maximus. For the complexities of this passage in Ennius, see Leigh (2001), who points out that "Manlian commands" become proverbial in Rome for *excessive* severity in the exercise of power' (p. 13, my italics). On the important social function of military discipline of which this episode was a much retold example, see Phang (2008), ch. 4.

⁶² Marrou (1956), 235; Walter (2004), 42–51.

⁶³ The central account in English is Flower (1996). The main ancient source on Roman funerals is Polyb. 6.53–4. Cf. Sall. *Iug.* 4.3 on the inspirational effect of the *imagines* on the young. The *carmina conuiualia*, which Cato seems to have imagined as a proto-literary form of *exempla* narrative (*de clarorum uirorum laudibus* (Cic. *Brut.* 75)) were probably a distant memory in Ennius' day: see Goldberg (2006), esp. 436. On the *carmina* as possible precursors to exemplarity in Roman literature, see Skidmore (1996), 17.

⁶⁴ Chaplin (2000), 11–15. For the Republic, cf. Walter (2004); Bücher (2006); cf. also Skidmore (1996), 16–21, and Gowing (2005) on the later empire, esp. 49–62, 'Valerius Maximus: Remembering Memories'.

unpraised before Cato's account, who willingly sacrificed his own life in order to save the whole army during the First Punic War, and compares this with the much praised exemplary behaviour of the Spartan Leonidas at Thermopylae.⁶⁵

In the early Republic, Roman *exempla*, too, could be actively seen on the stage. While Roman tragedy was adopting the use of mythological *exempla* from the Greek plays on which it largely drew, the genre of Roman historical drama, *fabula praetexta*, provided rich opportunities for resurrecting and creating Rome's own exemplary heroes.⁶⁶ As well as the *Decii*, which dramatized the exemplary deeds of the second Decius Mus, Accius composed another *praetexta*, *Brutus*, the subject of which was Brutus' stand against Tarquinius Superbus, and the subsequent creation of the Republic.⁶⁷ The two *praetextae* by Naevius, *Romulus* and especially the *Clastidium*, which appears to have dramatized Marcellus' siege of the city in 222, when he won the *spolia opima* in single combat with the enemy chief, likewise treated themes that could potentially invite exemplary dramatizations of the notable deeds of single heroes.⁶⁸ Ennius' own *praetexta*, *Sabinae*, told of the rape of the Sabine women, and, though very scantily attested, the narrative scope could have given the poem opportunity to present Hersilia in an exemplary light, and it may be that the *Ambracia* presented Fulvius in a similar guise to the great figures of the past, perhaps in terms of his *uirtus* or even *clementia*.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *tribuno militum parua laus pro factis relictā, qui idem fecerat atque rem seruauerat*, 'little praise was reserved for the deeds of the military tribune, who had done exactly the same thing and saved the state' (= Gell. 3.7.19). The tribune's sacrifice is interestingly made in terms reminiscent of the Decian *deuotio*: *ego hanc tibi et rei publicae animam do* ('I offer this life of mine to you and to the state'); see FRH ad loc. For further *exempla* in historians in the early Republic, cf. FRH vol. i, index s.v. *exempla*.

⁶⁶ For this function of *praetexta* in Roman memory culture, cf. Walter (2004), 75–83, and see also Wiseman (1998) on the importance of drama in the transmission and performance of Roman historical memory. For exemplary figures in *fabulae praetextae*, see also Bruun (2000), 66–7.

⁶⁷ *qui recte consulat, consul fiat*, 'let him who gives counsel well be "consul"' (3 Manuwald = 675 Dangel). Though he was not Accius' 'patron' in the later sense of the term, there was probably some connection to Iunius Brutus Callaecus in Accius' choice and presentation of his subject matter: Manuwald, p. 224. The play would have gained extra shades of meaning after 44 bc.

⁶⁸ The scope of the *Romulus* drama, which may be the same play as the other known title of a *praetexta* by Naevius, *Lupus*, is unknown. For the possibility of making the *Romulus* narrative into an exemplary one as realized by Livy, see Stem (2007).

⁶⁹ Cato's famous attack on Fulvius Nobilior for taking Ennius with him to *Ambracia* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.3) was probably largely in reaction to this play: Goldberg (2006),

Ennius presented the *Annales* as the *Iliad* for Rome: an epic poem that would claim the central place in Roman culture equivalent to Homer's epic in Greek. The idea of learning by example through literature had some Greek background, but exemplarity was also particularly fundamental to Roman memory, enabling the epic not just to import the muse but to root her in Rome.⁷⁰ The kind of impression we might get of an exemplary preoccupation in Ennius' epic is no doubt complicated by the fact that understanding the context of the surviving fragments discussed here often requires the help of fuller tellings of the same events by later writers themselves preoccupied with exemplarity, in particular Cicero, Livy, and Valerius Maximus, whose accounts are sometimes also the source of an Ennian line. In this case, however, given the wider interest in exemplarity in the literature and culture of the early Republic, later exemplary work is probably best seen essentially as a broad development rather than a distortion of the Ennian original. H. W. Litchfield remarked that the *Annales* 'must have been for Romans the first great book in the series' of *exempla* collections.⁷¹ Once the poem had been taken up as a key text in Roman education, it would have been read increasingly in that way. The epic thus constituted the embryo of a tradition of *exempla*-writing within Roman literature that manifests itself not only in overt collections of *exempla* such as that of Valerius Maximus, but also more broadly in other kinds of writing.⁷² As such it would have been highly relevant for a number of Augustan authors. What follows looks at the ways in which Virgil, Ennius' most ambitious epic successor, responded to the *Annales* specifically as an epic of Roman *exempla*.

430. For Hersilia in the *Annales*, cf. perhaps *Ann.* 101, *aeternum seritote diem concorditer ambo*, an exhortation to reconciliation attested for Book 1, which is assigned by Skutsch to Hersilia's intervention. Other known *praetextae* titles, such as Pacuvius' *Paullus*, apparently about Aemilius Paullus' victory at Pydna, (Manu-wald, p. 185) and later *Cato* by Curiatius Maternus, suggest similarly single figures and their important deeds as a topic of *praetexta*.

⁷⁰ For exemplary background in Greek literature, see e.g. Knauer (1964), 357 with n. 2; Rutherford (1994), 67–8; Chaplin (2000), 5–11.

⁷¹ Litchfield (1914), 64; cf. also Walter (2004), 270–2.

⁷² Valerius Maximus was writing in the period when Virgil's *Aeneid* had been established as the new canonical epic, and for direct sources uses almost exclusively famous authors (*inlustribus . . . auctoribus* (Val. Max. 1 *praef.*)) writing in prose, in particular Cicero and Livy. Ennius' poem, however, had been an important source for both. On Valerius' sources, see Kempf (1888); Bloomer (1992), 56–146; Wardle (1998), 15–18.

III. SUMMARIES AND REPETITIONS

‘unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem’: sciens enim Vergilius
quasi pro exemplo hunc uersum posuit.

(Servius on *Aen.* 6.845)

‘the one man who by delaying restores the state for us’: Virgil
knowingly included this verse as if by way of example.

Descending to the underworld and making his way to the Elysian Fields, Aeneas meets the ghost of his dead father, Anchises (*Aen.* 6.679–899). One of the best-known moments in the poem now, for an ancient audience brought up on Ennius there would have been a peculiar encounter here in the new and unfamiliar text with the Latin epic almost every Roman schoolboy knew. Looking down towards the crowds of souls gathered by the river Lethe (*innumerae gentes* (6.706)), Aeneas questions his father about the scene. Anchises replies with a speech of explanation beginning with a discourse on natural philosophy that expounds the origins of the universe and the process of metempsychosis which has led to the gathering of spirits by the river (6.724–52), and goes on, once Aeneas and his guide have been led among the thronging souls, to point out in specific detail the members of one particular *gens*, the descendants of Aeneas and their progeny, the historical figures of Rome to come (6.756–886).

The spirits Aeneas sees are in many cases characters from the *Annales*, and the passage is unusually dense in Ennian linguistic echoes.⁷³ The frame of the speech seems deliberately designed to suggest the *Aeneid*’s predecessor. As Philip Hardie has emphasized, the meeting between Aeneas and the disembodied shade of Anchises in the underworld is clearly connected to the dream of the disembodied spirit of Homer at the opening of the *Annales*.⁷⁴ Anchises weeps as he catches sight of Aeneas (*effusae . . . genis lacrimae*, ‘tears streaming down his cheeks’ (6.686)) just as, in Lucretius’ testimony, the spirit of Homer wept as he saw Ennius (*lacrimas effundere salsas*, ‘shed salt

⁷³ Norden (1957), 316 remarks that the scene is ‘sprachlich aufs stärkste von diesem [Ennius’ epic] beeinflusst’. See his thorough commentary *passim* for Ennian and possible Ennian usages, and cf. Appendix here.

⁷⁴ Hardie (1986), 69–83; (1993), 103–5. See also Wigodsky (1972), 73–4; Kofler (2003), 76–93.

tears' (Lucr. 1.125)).⁷⁵ He begins with a discourse on the nature of the universe and metempsychosis, which echoes the philosophical digression in Ennius' proemial dream, where the author of the *Iliad* instructs him on the separate origin of body and soul (*Ann.* 6–7) and the transmigration of souls (*Ann.* 11).⁷⁶ When the characters move down towards the river among the crowd of spirits, Anchises picks out a series of heroes, presenting this almost as a summary of Roman history expressed in the form of the deeds of great men; when Anchises reveals them *in ordine* (*ordine singula pandit* (6.723); *longo ordine* (6.754)), he calls to mind the annalistic presentation implied in the title of the *Annales*.⁷⁷ The shield of Aeneas in Book 8 is often seen as a pendant to Anchises' speech, completing the gaps it had left with the heroes of early Rome is similarly summative of Ennius' epic.⁷⁸ It, too, depicts Roman history *in ordine* (8.629), and similarly recapitulates specifically Ennian episodes as it sums up the history of Rome.

Anchises' speech, like the shield of Aeneas later, can therefore be seen as a sort of potted summary of Ennius' *Annales*, an instance, in some ways, of *mise en abyme*, a miniature of the whole embedded inside the text; only rather than a miniature of the *Aeneid* we have a miniature of the *Aeneid*'s epic predecessor.⁷⁹ Arguably, on a meta-poetic level, too, *pater* Anchises stands for *pater* Ennius, with '[t]he relationship between Aeneas and Anchises . . . [as] also that between Virgil and "father" Ennius'.⁸⁰ That relationship might be seen in

⁷⁵ The cause of Homer's tears is unclear: cf. Horsfall (2008), on 270 and 271 (*effundere*), and Skutsch pp. 155–6.

⁷⁶ Servius notes on 6.748 (*rotam uoluere per annos*) that the phrase is Ennian (*sermo Ennii*). See further Skutsch *Ann.* I.x with note, pp. 166–7. The philosophical digression in Ennius' proem may have gone further to encompass the whole of *rerum natura*. On the mediation of Lucretius (whose influence is also heavily felt linguistically and stylistically), see Hardie (1986), 77–83.

⁷⁷ For *ordo* ('order', 'row', 'sequence') as a metapoetic signal-word for the supposedly simple chronological structure of past texts in contrast to the sophisticated form of the *Aeneid*, see A. Barchiesi in Martindale (1997), 274–5 (with *Aen.* 1.456, *Iliacas ex ordine pugnas*, for the subject matter of the murals at Carthage suggesting the narrative form of the Greek epic cycle). Note also the metaliterary nod to Ennius' title at *Aen.* 1.373 (*annales nostrorum laborum*), where Aeneas highlights the tediousness of a narrative of the Aeneadae told *ab origine*. On the distortive influence of later constructions of Ennius' epic (which was clearly far more sophisticated viewed on its own terms), see Gildenhard (2003); Elliott (2005).

⁷⁸ See Hardie (1993), 105.

⁷⁹ On *mise en abyme* in the Homeric poems, cf. Dällenbach (1989), 86–7, on Demodocus' song as a miniature summary of the *Iliad* in the *Odyssey*, and cf. Rinon (2008), ch. 5.

⁸⁰ Hardie (1993), 104, expanded by Kofler (2003), ch. 4 'Ennius in der Unterwelt', pp. 75–93. For Anchises as a metapoetic father figure, see also Farrell (1999).

terms of a positive nurturing encounter: the spirit of the old epic gives strength to the new, long-awaited poem (*iampridem* (6.717)) as it reaches Italian soil to build upon the ground work Ennius had laid, 'an act of piety on the part of Virgil towards his literary "parent", *pater Ennius*'.⁸¹ But underneath the metapoetic encounter of linear succession from father to son, the meeting between Aeneas and his father in many ways illustrates the more complex dynamic between the two epics at work in the poem as a whole. The *Aeneid* not only succeeds and completes the old poem, but subtly alters the ways in which readers remember it in order that the new epic might take precedence as the ultimate epic carrier of Roman memory.

One of the striking things about the parade is that it evokes the Roman past substantially in terms of *exempla*. As scholars have emphasized, Anchises, addressing his son and at another level the poem's audience in future Rome, plays the role of a teacher or moral guide. His speech is protreptic, persuading his audience to great deeds, and offering moral guidance to Roman readers.⁸² *Pater* Anchises can be seen to play the role of the *pater familias* who picks out the examples of good and bad from those around him as protreptic models for behaviour, emulation and avoidance.⁸³ Like the traditional father-figures in Terence's *Adelphoe* (414–19) and Horace's *Satires* 1.4 (105–21), who point out to their sons the virtues and vices of the actions of those around them (*hoc laudist . . . hoc uitio datur*, 'this is praiseworthy . . . this counts as a failing' (Ter. *Ad.* 418)), so, too, Anchises picks out for his son the qualities to be praised and lamented in the figures he points to.⁸⁴ Emotive, parainetic language urges the spectator to learn from the examples of the future Roman race, both good and bad (6.771–2, 806–7, 822–3, 832–3). The deictic immediacy, though, can be applied not merely to residents of the contemporary city, but, because of the narrative situation—a gathering of the still unborn—to the whole span of the great men of Roman history,

⁸¹ Hardie (1986), 78.

⁸² Cf. e.g. Habinek (1989).

⁸³ For Anchises as *pater familias* specifically in the connection of the explanation of the *imagines* at a Roman funeral, cf. Flower (1996) 109–14; Feeney (1986), 225.

⁸⁴ *nil praetermitto: consuefacio: denique | inspicere tamquam in speculum in uitas omnium | iubeo atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi*, 'I overlook nothing. I train him. I even tell him to look at the lives of everybody else, as in a mirror, and to take his model from others' (Ter. *Ad.* 414–16). Cf. Kiessling-Heinze (1930) on Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.104. The echo of Terence's Demea, a fool, potentially starts to undermine the authority of the father in Virgil's text.

combining instruction in Roman history with moral exemplification. As Tiberius Claudius Donatus would explain later, in a commentary dedicated to his son (on *Aen.* 6.841–4): *omnes isti diuersis artibus, meritis quoque et uirtute floruerunt, quos Vergilius ex persona Anchisae dicit non esse praetermittendos sed propter exempla optima tradendos memoriae posterorum* ('All these men were distinguished in various skills, worthy actions, and courage; through the character of Anchises, Virgil states that they should not be neglected but handed down as excellent examples to the memory of posterity').

Viewed on a formal level, too, Anchises' speech can be seen to display some of the central features of exemplary discourse. Each of the figures is picked out by name, followed by a concise presentation of the deeds for which he is notable. The list-like character,⁸⁵ often giving names in the plural, as well as the break in chronology, recall similar '*exempla-Reihe*' in rhetoric.⁸⁶ As Eduard Norden has analysed, the speech can be rhetorically viewed as a protreptic to *uirtus*, which is divided around three main nodal points:⁸⁷ 806–7 (*et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis, | aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?*⁸⁸), προτροπή πρὸς ἀνδρείαν (exhortation to courage);⁸⁹ the apostrophe to Caesar and Pompey and implicitly all Anchises' progeny in later Rome in an exhortation against civil war at 832–4 (*ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella | neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uiris*), ἀποτροπή ἀπὸ στάσεως ἐμφυλίου (dissuasion from civil discord);⁹⁰ and 851–3, now explicitly addressed to the Roman reader (*tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*), προτροπή πρὸς βίον πρακτικόν (exhortation to a

⁸⁵ Norden (1957), 314.

⁸⁶ Walter (2004), 57, makes the connection. On lists of *exempla* and plural names in rhetoric, see, e.g. Bücher (2006), 159–60.

⁸⁷ Norden (1957), 312–14. Norden draws openly on the rhetorical emphasis of Tiberius Claudius Donatus' commentary.

⁸⁸ 'And do we still hesitate to extend our courage by our actions?'

⁸⁹ Donatus ad loc. classifies this as *genus . . . hortamenti* ('type of exhortation').

⁹⁰ 'Oh my sons, do not harden your hearts to such wicked war; do not turn your powerful strength against the flesh of your homeland'. With *ualidas in uiscera uertite uiris*: cf. *Ann.* 298, *uiri uaria ualidis . . . uiribus luctant* ('the men struggled . . . with powerful strength'). (The missing noun with *uaria* may be *uice*: Skutsch ad loc.) The Ennian fragment is attested by Nonius for Book 9, but the narrative context is unknown.

life of action).⁹¹ For an ancient audience schooled in rhetoric, therefore, the figures in the parade would be naturally and readily viewed as *exempla* (παράδειγματα) designed to illustrate and bring home these lessons.

Norden notes, with supporting ancient evidence, that most of the figures whom Anchises picks out in the parade are typical of rhetoric;⁹² but it is also notable that many of these names were, at the same time, quickly recognizable as characters in the *Annales*. The parade of Roman history, after the list of Alban kings, is framed by two openly Ennian exemplary characters. First, Romulus appears at Numitor's side:

quin et auo comitem sese Mauortius addet
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
educet. uiden, ut geminae stant uertice cristae
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo.

Aen. 6.777–82

(A son of Mars, too, will join his grandfather: Romulus, whom his mother Ilia will bear of the stock of Assaracus. Do you see how the double crest stands on his head and the father of the gods himself already marks him out with his own majesty? Look, my son, under his auspices that famous Rome will stretch her empire to the ends of the earth and her spirits to the sky.)

huius . . . auspiciis illa incluta Roma, 6.681, openly evokes the mention of the foundation of *incluta Roma* under solemn auspices at *Annales* 154–5 (= Varro *Rust.* 3.1.2; Suet. *Aug.* 7.2 (*Ann.* 155)),

septingenti sunt, paulo plus aut minus, anni
augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.
(It is seven hundred years, a little more or less,
since famous Rome was founded by august augury)

a fragment which, in turn, refers to the auspice-taking for the foundation of the city (and the founding moment of the city's name) by Romulus and his brother narrated in Book 1 of the *Annales* (*Ann.* 72–91). The final hero in the roster before Anchises' hortatory close is Quintus Fabius Maximus:

⁹¹ 'You, Roman, remember (these will be your arts) to rule the peoples of the world with your empire, to spare the defeated and war down the proud'.

⁹² Norden (1957), 313, citing Cic. *Off.* 1.61; *Tusc.* 1.110; *Sest.* 143.

tu Maximus ille es,
 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
Aen. 6.845–6

(You are that ‘Maximus’, the one man who by delaying restores the state for us.)

Aeneid 6.846 is openly designed to evoke Ennius’ epic directly, and to do so specifically as an epic of *exempla*:

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
 noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
 ergo postque magisque uiri nunc gloria claret
Ann. 363–5

(One man by delaying restored the state for us. He did not put rumours before our safety. Therefore, the later and the more, the hero’s glory now shines out)

As Servius remarks on 6.845, *sciens enim Vergilius quasi pro exemplo posuit* (‘Virgil knowingly put this verse in as if by way of example’), a comment that can apply both to his imitation of Ennius (this is an open and obvious example of it), and to his presentation of the parade of heroes as *exempla optima tradendos memoriae posterorum*.⁹³ Between these is a series of characters partly set up as *exempla*. Numa is singled out for his morally powerful *frugalitas*, the king who, *paupere terra | missus in imperium magnum . . . primam qui legibus urbem | fundabit* (‘called from a poor land to great power . . . will first found the city with laws’ (6.811–12; 810–11); cf. similarly, Fabricius, famously *paruo potens*, ‘powerful in small means’ (6.843)); Tullus seemingly for his *fortitudo* (6.814–15), and Ancus apparently for his *superbia*: *iactantior Ancus | nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris* (‘over-boastful Ancus who even now enjoys too much the breeze of popular favour’ (6.815–16)). Typical exemplary characters frequently appear—Camillus, for instance, bringing back the standards (*referentem signa* (6.825))—and in many cases are referred to by name alone, a feature typical of exemplary discourse:⁹⁴ Cato (6.841),

⁹³ Tiberius Claudius Donatus on *Aen.* 6.841–4, quoted earlier. On the exemplary presentation of Fabius in the *Annales*, cf. sect. II.

⁹⁴ Cf. Bücher (2006), 159, on the common practice in Cicero.

Cossus (6.841, who won the *spolia opima* like Marcellus (6.855)); the Decii and Fabii (6.845).⁹⁵

The presentation of early Rome in the pendant passage to Anchises' speech, Aeneas' shield, continues this tendency of evoking Ennian epic and Roman *exempla*:

haud procul inde citae Mettū in diuersa quadrigae
distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!),
raptabatque uiri mendacis uiscera Tullus
per siluam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine uepres.
nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat
accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
aspiceres, pontem auderet quia uellere Cocles
et fluuium uinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.
in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat, . . .
atque hic auratis uolitans argenteus anser
porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat . . .
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.

Aen. 8.642–53, 655–6, 668–70

(Nor far from there, four-horse chariots driven fast in opposite directions had torn Mettus apart (you should have stood by your words, Alban!), and Tullus was dragging the liar's body through the woods, and the brambles dripped with blood. There, too, Porsenna was ordering the Romans to let banished Tarquin back in and oppressing the city with a great siege; the Aeneadae were rushing to the sword for the sake of liberty. You could have seen him looking exactly like a man angered, like a man threatening, because Horatius Cocles dared to tear down the bridge and Cloelia broke her bonds and swam the river. At the top of the shield, Manlius, the keeper of the Tarpeian citadel, was standing in front of the temple and holding the high Capitol . . . and here a silver goose, fluttering through the gold colonnades, called to announce that the Gauls were on the threshold . . . and the punishments of crimes, and you Catiline, hanging from a beetling cliff and trembling at the faces of the Furies; and, in a place apart, were the good, with Cato giving laws.)

⁹⁵ Cf. the *laudes Italiae* in *Georgics* 2, where Italy is praised as the land that produced *Decios, Marios magnosque Camillos, | Scipiadas* (G. 2.169–70). The underworld in the *Culex* is similarly populated by exemplary figures (*Fabii, Decii* (361)).

As Gerhard Binder notes, with *haud procul inde* (8.642), the narrative of the shield shifts to a series of *exempla* from Rome's regal period.⁹⁶ The presentation of Mettus Fufetius as an *exemplum malum* (8.642–5) echoes back to the *Annales*, where the gruesome punishment for his treachery was described (probably in Book 2):

tractatus per aequora campi

uolturus in †spineto† miserum mandebat hominem:
heu quam crudeli condebant membra sepulcro.

Ann. 124, 125–6⁹⁷

(dragged over the expanse of the plain a vulture in the thorn bush (?)
chewed the wretched man: Ah! In what a cruel tomb did he bury his
limbs)

The battle against the banished Tarquinius Superbus and siege of Rome by Porsenna (8.646–51) likewise has Ennian background, as may Horatius Cocles holding the bridge to Rome.⁹⁸ Finally, Cato giving laws (*dantem iura* (8.670)) recalls his censorship, which would have fallen in Book 15 of the *Annales*.⁹⁹

Anchises' speech, then, is in many ways one illustrated by literally animated *exempla*, which, like the shield later, also send readers back specifically to their school-learned knowledge of Ennius' *Annales*. Yet it is not entirely clear what precisely the *exempla* exemplify. A rhetorical analysis like Norden's outlined earlier claims that the

⁹⁶ Binder (1971), 177.

⁹⁷ Ann. 124 = Macrob. exc. Bob. 5.651; Ann. 125–6 = Prisc. Inst. 2.206; Schol. on Stat. Theb. 3.508 cod. Bamb.; Cod. misc. Sangall 397, p. 121. See Skutsch ad loc. on the textual problems of Ann. 125. Flores's edition (Ann. 139 Flores) adopts Koch's emendation of *spinis* for the unmetrical *spineto*.

⁹⁸ The language of 646–51 has Ennian roots: with *obsidione premebat* (Aen. 8.647), cf. Ann. 25 *cum †suo obsidio... premebat*. The patronymic *Aeneadae* (Aen. 8.648), meaning 'the Romans', as it does in the first line of Lucretius, may likewise be Ennian (Norden (1957) ad loc.). For Cocles, see further sect. IV. Cloelia (Aen. 6.651), taken prisoner by Porsenna, breaking away and swimming the Tiber back to Rome is an *exemplum* frequently linked with Cocles, along with Mucius Scaevola (*illa tria Romani nominis prodigia et miracula, Horatius, Mucius, Cloelia*, 'those three prodigies and marvels of Roman name, Horatius, Mucius, Cloelia' (Flor. epit. 1.10.3)). The stories are told by Servius (on Aen. 6.646).

⁹⁹ Virgil's Cato also seems to carry suggestions of Cato the Younger: S. J. Harrison (1997), 74. Exemplary preoccupation is shown further by the rounding off with a post-Ennian *exemplum* of Catiline in the underworld as *exemplum malum* (Aen. 6.668–9); for the construction of Catiline as a new *exemplum malum* in political discourse, see Bücher (2006), 310–15.

speech is protreptic, seeking to convey the main lessons of the *uirtus* that brings about great national accomplishments. As such, we might expect Anchises' precepts to be illustrated by straightforward *exempla uirtutis* and *exempla mala*. But the positive outlook of the parade is also notoriously problematic. As Denis Feeney has deftly shown, particularly when it comes to the representation of the Republic, its eulogistic aspects are apparently undercut by the hermeneutic gaps the poem carefully leaves. The parade is not as straightforward about the Republic as might be expected.¹⁰⁰

The issue of the way the parade presents the Republic to the memory of posterity is particularly interesting when considered in the context of the *Aeneid's* self-conscious reference to its Republican epic rival. Historical memory is conjoined with poetic memory: the ways in which readers are coaxed to remember the past are linked with how they are coaxed to remember the *Annales* vis-à-vis its new successor. *Exemplum* becomes a particularly useful tool in this. Partly because they provide such a concise way of evoking narrative, *exempla* leave a gap for reinterpretation and poetic misreading. Writing about the use of the figure in early modern Europe, John Lyons identifies two of its key characteristics as 'discontinuity' and 'iterativity'. 'Discontinuity' homes in on the border between the excised and refitted material and its new surrounding context, giving the writer the chance to emphasize what Lyons calls a 'rift' between the two.¹⁰¹ Iterativity (related to discontinuity) draws on Derridean ideas to highlight 'the way an example that explicitly points to an event that happened once actually stands for many similar events occurring through time'.¹⁰² There is no such thing as a single *exemplum* ('it is impossible to consider as an example the manifestation of a class of one'¹⁰³). The implication is that, once 'excised' and considered as *exemplum*, the meaning of an example cannot be fixed by a single context, it is always potentially in flux and can never equivocally stand for one thing. Scholars on Roman *exempla* have stressed the importance of this quality of inconclusiveness in the use of *exemplum* by a number of ancient authors, too, not least Livy and Valerius Maximus. Livy is self-consciously aware of the roles various audience play in the

¹⁰⁰ Feeney (1986).

¹⁰¹ Lyons (1989), 31. The idea of the 'rift' originates in the work of Marina Brownlee (Lyons (1989), 31 with n. 63. Cf. also Goldhill (1993).

¹⁰² Lyons (1989), 27.

¹⁰³ Lyons (1989), 27.

interpretation of *exempla*, while Valerius Maximus employs techniques of ‘controversial thinking’ to encourage his readers to question the absolute value of an example as part of the morally educative function of the *Dicta et facta memorabilia*.¹⁰⁴ For Virgil, the unstable nature of *exemplum*, too, asks readers to rethink the moral value of particular instances. But it also becomes an effective method of poetic self-positioning, repeating Ennian examples, but changing their signification, thereby destabilizing the old poem and its *exempla* in order to make room for the new.

On closer inspection, many of the examples that evoked Ennian narratives in the parade of heroes are confused. Looking back, they seem to slip by without exemplifying what Ennius had said they did. Tullus Hostilius is recalled as an apparently positive *exemplum* of *fortitudo*: *otia qui rumpet patriae . . . residesque mouebit | . . . in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis | agmina* (‘who will shatter his country’s leisure . . . and rouse to battle men that have become inactive and armies long unaccustomed to triumphs’ (6.813–15)). But Ennius seems to have presented a very different Tullus. In an episode also recalled in a more muted version on the shield (*Aen.* 8.642–5), Tullus cruelly punishes the Alban king, tearing his body apart by tying it to chariots driven in opposite directions, leaving the corpse to be chewed and ‘buried’ in the bellies of vultures (*heu! quam crudeli condebat membra sepulchro* (*Ann.* 126)).¹⁰⁵ Tullus, too, was traditionally responsible for the sack of Alba Longa, in what tends to be seen as a moment of proto-civil war (*ciuili simillimum bello* (*Livy* 1.23.1)); in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, Virgil described the traumatic sack of Troy in terms that led Servius to say *de Albano excidio translatus est locus*, probably referring to the episode in the *Annales*.¹⁰⁶ If Skutsch and

¹⁰⁴ See esp. Chaplin (2000); Langlands (2008). As I have argued, Ennius’ *exempla*, though probably ossified to an extent by the first century BC through selective reading in educational contexts, were originally just as complex.

¹⁰⁵ See *Ann.* 124–6. *Livy* 1.28.11 sums up the event with disgust: *auertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit*. (‘Everyone averted their eyes from such a disgusting spectacle. That was the first and the last punishment among the Romans of a kind so utterly disrespectful of the laws of humanity’; cf. Varro (apud Non. 443 L.): *Mettum Fufetium . . . interemit . . . imperiosius quam humanius* (‘he killed Mettus Fufetius in a way that was more dictatorial than humane’).

¹⁰⁶ ‘This whole passage is taken from the destruction of Alba’: Serv. on *Aen.* 2.486–90, on the violation of Priam’s palace; cf. Serv. on *Aen.* 2.313 (*exoritur clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*): *sicut Albanum Tullus Hostilius iussit euertere* (‘in the same

Norden are right, in the *Aeneid* the trauma of the destruction of Alba—the responsibility of a problematic Tullus—is implicitly transferred to the Greeks, while Tullus’ proto-civil war (explicitly singled out by Anchises as behaviour to be avoided in his descendants (6.826–35)) is silently elided. Next to Tullus is a traditionally very different king, Ancus Martius (6.815–16). His reign as ‘good king Ancus’ was summed up in what may have been the first line of *Annales* 3, self-consciously quoted by Lucretius as a familiar *exemplum* of the archetypal good king who, like all of us, succumbed to death (3.1025):

postquam sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit
Ann. 137 = Festus 388; Paul. Fest. 387

(after good Ancus closed his eyes to the light)

Rather than Ennius’ *bonus Ancus*, though, in the *Aeneid*, Ancus is recalled as *iactantior Ancus*, too concerned with gaining personal fame and public favour, suggesting not so much an example of good kingship, but an exemplar of *superbia*: ‘over-boastful Ancus who even now enjoys too much the breeze of popular favour’ (*iactantior Ancus | nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris* (*Aen.* 6.815–16)). There is no extant parallel to Virgil’s presentation of Ancus,¹⁰⁷ and the problem has traditionally been explained away by the claim that Virgil confused Ancus with Servius Tullius (not mentioned in Virgil’s list of kings):¹⁰⁸ but rather than an accidental ‘historical blunder’,¹⁰⁹ this ‘confusion’, like others in the passage, is best understood as a deliberate perversion of Ancus’ traditional exemplary presentation canonized in the *Annales*.

Similarly slippery are the lines on Brutus and T. Manlius Torquatus:

uis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti, fascisque uidere receptos?
consulis imperium hic primus saeuasque securis

way, Tullus Hostilius ordered that Alba be destroyed’) and Skutsch, pp. 279–80, following Norden (1915), 154–8. The extent of the echo (Servius’ *translatus est locus* on *Aen.* 2.486) is impossible to gauge. Livy, according to Skutsch, was perhaps influenced by Ennius’ account in the description of the same event. For the episode in Virgil and Ennius, cf. Rossi (2004), 23–4 with 17–44 on the wider literary background of the *urbs capta* motif at work in Virgil’s presentation of the fall of Troy.

¹⁰⁷ Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.815f.; Austin (1977) on *Aen.* 6.815.

¹⁰⁸ Norden (1957) on *Aen.* 6.815f.

¹⁰⁹ Austin (1977) on *Aen.* 6.815: ‘improbable’.

accipiet, natosque pater noua bella mouentis
 ad poenam pulchra pro libertate uocabit,
 infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:
 uincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.
 quin Decios Drususque procul saeuumque securi
 aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.

Aen. 6.817–25

(Do you want to see the Tarquin kings, the haughty spirit of Brutus the avenger and the fasces retrieved? He will be the first to receive the power of a consul and the stern axes, and when his sons stir up wars again, their own father will call them to punishment in the name of fair liberty. Poor man, however later generations will interpret his deeds: patriotism will prevail, and a measureless desire for praise! Look, too, at the Decii and the Drusi over there and cruel Torquatus with his axe and Camillus bringing back the standards.)

Brutus' actions resulted in the banishment of Tarquinius Superbus and the birth of the Republic, actions that were dramatized in Accius' *praetexta*, and presumably in some form, too, in Ennius' *Annales*. Anchises signals his version as a proleptic 'correction' of previous interpretations of the tradition about Brutus (*utcumque ferent ea facta minores*, 'however later generations will interpret his deeds' (6.822)). For Anchises, Brutus, like Ancus, seems to show the failing of an untempered desire for personal glory (*laudum... immensa cupido* (6.823)). At 6.817 he is oddly presented as *superbus* (6.817), an adjective which rightfully belongs to his adversary Tarquin (a surprise that is brought home by the proximity of *Tarquinius* and *animam superbam* (6.817), before qualification (*ultoris Bruti* (6.818)).¹¹⁰ Moreover, the exemplary attributes of Brutus are then confused with those of Manlius Torquatus; instead of an example of *libertas* (*pro libertate* (6.821)), as partly implied in the description of Roman history on the shield at *Aeneid* 8.648,¹¹¹ Brutus is made an *exemplum* of paternal *seueritas*, as Anchises picks out the story according to which Brutus ordered the execution of both his sons after they were involved in the conspiracy to restore the Tarquins

¹¹⁰ *superbiae uitium magis Tarquiniis adplicatur secundum ueterum fabulas, non Bruto* ('according to the ancient stories, the fault of *superbia* is ascribed more to the Tarquins, not to Brutus' (Tiberius Claudius Donatus ad loc.)). Norden tried to elide the problem by unsatisfyingly putting a comma after *superbam* and taking *ultoris Bruti* with *fasces*: cf. Austin (1977) on *Aen.* 817.

¹¹¹ For the importance of *libertas* on the shield, cf. Binder (1971), 184.

(*noua bella mouentis*, 'stirring up new wars' (6.820)). Traditionally, however, and (if Skutsch is right about the context of *Ann.* 156) in Ennius, too, this exemplary role was given to T. Manlius Torquatus, the much more famous 'sad example' (*triste exemplum* (Livy 8.7.17)) of paternal *seueritas*.¹¹² Torquatus, in fact, slips in coyly, 'fierce with his axe' (*saeuum... securi* (6.824–5)), in the next two lines, but Virgil's poem does not expand on the story, sidelining it, instead, in favour of Brutus and his sons. Finally, a few lines later at *Aeneid* 6.839, *Aeacides*, too, evokes an Ennian *exemplum* only to invert or elide it. In the *Annales* the patronymic clearly referred to Pyrrhus of Epirus (*Aecida Burrus* (*Ann.* 475)), who, despite the fact that he was the enemy of Rome (but a saviour of Tarentum), was presented in Book 6 almost as a Roman exemplary hero, refusing the ransom for Roman prisoners and instead releasing them unconditionally (*Ann.* 183–90). Again, however, that memory is passed over, and Pyrrhus as *Aeacides* is replaced by the post-Ennian Perseus of Macedon.¹¹³

The inconclusiveness and instability of *exemplum*, then, is not just a tool for political 'further voices' but also one that can be deployed for poetic misprision, misreading past epic to make a space for the new. Discontinuity is a characteristic of *exemplum*, but in Bloom's terms, too, 'discontinuity is freedom'.¹¹⁴ In the parade of heroes in Book 6, a process part completed by the shield in Book 8, the *Aeneid* re-evokes Ennius' exemplary figures within the context of a near summary of the *Annales*, a moment metapoetically signalled to

¹¹² The transference of this complex *exemplum* to Brutus in Virgil's underworld is part of the association which would have been made by Virgil's contemporaries with this Brutus and the assassin of Julius Caesar: Feeney (1986), 231. What role resonances of Accius' play may have had in colouring Virgil's passage on Brutus is hard to tell.

¹¹³ Cf. the 'correction' of Ennius' positive representation of Pyrrhus in Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) at *Aen.* 2.526–66, and, in a more complex way, in Aeneas' refusal to spare the conquered at *Aen.* 10.531–6, refusing, like Ennius' Pyrrhus (*non cauponantes bellum* (*Ann.* 184)), to engage in *belli commercia* (*Aen.* 10.532): cf. Cairns (1989), 80–2. Feeney (1986), 234–5, also reads problems in *Aeneid* 6.842–3, *geminus, duo fulmina belli*, | *Scipiadas, cladem Libya* ('the Scipiones, two thunderbolts of war and the ruin of Carthage'), which may pick up an Ennian pun on *fulmina* applied to the Elder Africanus and the two brothers (Ch. 1 sect. II n. 37), suggesting along with them the post-Ennian Africanus Minor, the captor of Carthage in 146 bc. For Feeney, suggesting that Lucan 6.788–9 picks up latent suggestions in Virgil's text, *cladem Libya* also applies to another Scipio, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, who suffered disaster (rather than inflicted it) in Libya as a commander of the Republican forces against Caesar in the Thapsus campaign of 46 bc.

¹¹⁴ Bloom (1973), 39.

make us remember Ennius' epic *in toto*. In doing so, the poem exploits the iterativity of exemplarity, and the authority of the *Annales* as the canonical epic repository of the exemplary Roman past begins silently to be undermined.

IV. TURNUS AND THE ENNIAN EXAMPLE

The parade of heroes in *Aeneid* 6 and to some extent the shield in *Aeneid* 8 repeat and reinvent the *Annales* as exemplary epic in summary form. Yet the presence of Ennius' exemplary heroes is not confined to these two highly self-conscious moments. Ennian *exempla* frequently shadow the action of the poem, particularly in its second half. Many of the *Aeneid*'s minor characters partially echo or enact (or rather pre-echo and pre-enact) paradigms of Republican exemplary behaviour. Tarchon sets an '*exemplum*' of bravery for his troops to follow (11.758);¹¹⁵ Camilla, Tarpeia-like, is undone by the feminine love of gleaming gold (11.782).¹¹⁶ Mezentius, an *exemplum malum*, is *contemptor diuum* and Tarquin-like *rex superbus* (11.15),¹¹⁷ who gets his gruesome comeuppance (as he admits himself: *debueram patriae poenas*, 'I had owed a debt of punishment to my country' (10.853)). Most notable of all, however, are single heroes on the battlefield echoing the *exempla uirtutis* of the reader's past, fighting and dying for Rome: Pallas, *non uirtutis egentem* ('not lacking in *uirtus*' (11.27)), is out for the *spolia opima* (10.449–50), like a Romulus or a Cossus or Marcellus, ready to give his life for his fatherland (*patria alta* (10.374)), as he prays to the Tiber (*Thybris pater* (10.421)), like a Horatius Cocles fighting for Rome or an Aeneas as he reaches Italian soil. The young Lausus, too, a primeval version of the youthful Scipio

¹¹⁵ Apart from Aeneas' injunction to his son quoted in sect. I (12.439), Tarchon is the only figure in the *Aeneid*, and this the only instance, in which the term *exemplum* is used. For Tarchon performing *exemplum* cf. Leigh (1993), 102. *moriturus et ipse* ('and he himself also ready to die' (11.741)) makes his action shade towards *proto-deuotio* (Leigh (1997), 134 n. 39).

¹¹⁶ In her army are Tulla and Tarpeia (11.656). For the link between Roman Tarpeia, who desired the gold which the Sabines 'carried on their left arms' and therefore betrayed Rome (Livy 1.11.5–9; Val. Max. 9.6.1) and Camilla's death in the *Aeneid* due to a woman's love of gold, cf. Arrigoni (1982), 52. Euryalus meets a comparable end in *Aen.* 9.359–66, 373–4.

¹¹⁷ See Horsfall (2003) ad loc.

Africanus in the battle of Ticinus during the Hannibalic War, saves the life of his father in battle, an act for poets to commemorate (10.791–3), echoing at the same time the paternal dutifulness of *pious Aeneas*.¹¹⁸

The idea of the one man, *unus homo*, staking his life or reputation in the service of the state is a central feature of Republican *exempla uirtutis*. On the battlefield of the *Aeneid*, however, the *unus homo* examples tend to go wrong. Even though Jupiter tells Hercules, weeping over Pallas' imminent death, that there is *uirtus* in the very act of trying (10.468–9), Pallas fails to get the spoils he hoped for and it is in fact his enemy who *ouat spolio* ('rejoices [lit. "celebrates an *ovatio*"] in the spoils' (10.500)). Lausus' *pietas* fails (*fallit te incautum pietas tua*, 'your *pietas* fails you in your rashness' (10.812)), both in succeeding to save his father and himself, and in the kind of father he defends. The most sustained example of failed attempts at Republican exemplary behaviour, however, underlies the portrayal of Turnus. This section examines how Virgil's Turnus evokes Republican and specifically Ennian *exempla*. Turnus and his divine and semi-divine supporters increasingly set him up as acting out the proto-Roman role of the one man staking, and then in fact sacrificing, his life in the service of the state, seeking to make a stand on his native soil (*patria consistere terra* (*Aen.* 10.75)).¹¹⁹ As I show, in the process, paradigms of exemplary memory are appropriated from the *Annales*.

i. Fighting for Rome: Horatius Cocles and his Emulators

One of the curious moments of recorded Ennian allusion in the *Aeneid* appears at the end of Book 9. Turnus enters the Trojan camp while Aeneas is away and succeeds in killing a number of its defenders, until the Trojans finally close in on him *omnis in unum* (9.801):

¹¹⁸ *tuaeque optima facta* [...] *non equidem nec te, iuuenis memorande, silebo* (10.791–3). On Scipio's act of filial *pietas*, see Livy 21.46.7–10. Val. Max. 5.4.2 gives Scipio's action a place among examples of piety towards parents, brothers, and country (*de pietate erga parentes et fratres et patriam*). On the connection between Lausus and Scipio at Ticinus, cf. Tipping (2010), 147. On the probable echoes of the lost cyclic *Aethiopis*, where the young Antilochus saves his father Nestor, see esp. Fraenkel (1932).

¹¹⁹ Thomas (1998). Turnus' favoured quality is *uirtus*: Horsfall (2003) on *Aen.* 11.441.

ergo nec clipeo iuuenis subsistere tantum
 nec dextra ualet, iniectis sic undique telis
 obruitur. strepit adsiduo caua tempora circum
 tinnitu galea et saxis solida aera fatiscunt
 discussaeque iubae, capiti, nec sufficit umbo
 ictibus; ingeminant hastis et Troes . . .

tum toto corpore sudor
 liquitur et piceum (nec respirare potestas)
 flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
 tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis
 in fluuium dedit. ille suo cum gurgite flauo
 accepit uenientem ac mollibus extulit undis
 et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.

Aen. 9.806–18

(So neither with his shield nor with his sword arm can the youth hold his ground; he is overwhelmed with weapons from all sides. The helmet rings constantly around his hollow temples and the solid bronze cracks open with the rocks, and the plumed crest is torn from his head, and his shield-boss gives way under the blows. The Trojans double up their barrage of spears . . . Then sweat flows all over his body in a pitchy stream (nor is there breathing space); a sickly panting shakes his exhausted limbs. Then, at last, with a leap he dived headlong into the river, arms and all. The Tiber received him as he came with its yellow flood and bore him up with its gentle waves, and, with the slaughter washed away, sent him back happy to his comrades.)

This scene echoes a recurring motif in Homer in which a lone warrior resists heavy fire, one which finds its most sustained expression in Ajax's attempt to fend off the Trojan flames from the Greek ships in *Iliad* 16:¹²⁰

*Αἴας δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἔμμινε· βιάζετο γὰρ βελέεσσι·
 δάμνα μιν Ζηνός τε νόος καὶ Τρῶες ἀγανοὶ
 βάλλοντες· δεινὴν δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ
 πῆληξ βαλλομένη καναχὴν ἔχε, βάλλετο δ' αἰεὶ
 καὶ φάλαρ' εὐποίηθ'. ὁ δ' ἀριστερόν ὦμον ἔκαμνεν,
 ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχων σάκος αἰόλον· οὐδ' ἐδύναντο
 ἄμφ' αὐτῷ πελεμῖξαι ἐρείδοντες βελέεσσιν·
 αἰεὶ δ' ἀργαλέω ἔχετ' ἄσθματι, καὶ δέ οἱ ἰδρῶς*

¹²⁰ Fenik (1968), 98, 232; Janko (1992) on *Il.* 13.550–9.

πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολλὸς ἔρρεεν, οὐδέ πη εἶχεν
ἀμπνεῦσαι· πάντῃ δὲ κακὸν κακῶ ἐστήρικτο.

Il. 16.102–11

(Ajax no longer held his ground, hard pressed with missiles; the resolve of Zeus was breaking him and the lordly Trojans with their spear-casts; around his temples the bright helmet rang terribly as it was struck, and the helmet's well-made bosses were constantly hit; he was weary in his left shoulder, always holding the flashing shield steady; but they could not shake it around him by pressing it with missiles. He was constantly seized with painful panting, and all around the abundant sweat kept pouring down from his limbs, and there was no breathing space: woe was piled on woe on every side.)

The Homeric scene was used for a set piece in the *Annales*, too.

undique conueniunt uelut imber tela tribuno:
configunt parmam, tinnit hastilibus umbo,
aerato sonitu galeae, sed nec pote quisquam
undique nitendo corpus discernere ferro.
semper abundantes hastas frangitque quatitque.
totum sudor habet corpus, multumque laborat,
nec respirandi fit copia: praepete ferro
Histri tela manu iacientes sollicitabant.

Ann. 391–8 = Macrobi. 6.3.3

(From every side the missiles pour on the tribune like rain: they pierce his shield, the shield-boss resounds with the javelins, the helmet with a brass sound, but no one on any side can tear his body by straining with the sword. Continually he breaks and shakes the teeming spears. Sweat takes hold of his whole body, and he labours hard, nor is there breathing space: with winged iron the Istrians continued to harass him as they hurl their weapons.)

Here, the fight of the one against many gives the tribune in the siege of Ambracia the sheen of the Homeric hero. In Ennius, linguistic echoes anchor the scene to Homer's poem: the helmet ringing under the blows of the weapons (Il. 16.104–6; Ann. 392–3), the sweat that breaks out on the hero's body (Il. 16.109–10; Ann. 396),¹²¹ and the struggle for breath (Il. 16.110–11; Ann. 397).¹²² As Macrobius

¹²¹ Cf. also Ann 417, *tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor* (the cold sweat of fear).

¹²² The *Annales* also take up general elements from the motif in *Iliad* 13.545ff. (Antilochus surrounded by Trojans): cf. *undique* with ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος (Il. 13.551), and πάντῃ at Il. 16.111, and cf. the inability to wound Antilochus (Il. 13.553–4) with (much stronger) *sed nec pote quisquam* | ... *corpus discernere ferro* (Ann. 393–4)).

suggests in quoting the three passages side by side, both poets are careful to align their characters, the tribune and Turnus, allusively with Ajax, and their epics with Homer's *Iliad*, and the *Aeneid* to place itself in a line of epic succession from Homer through Ennius.¹²³

But in Roman tradition the archetypal one man fending off the many is Horatius Cocles, who, at the beginning of the Republic, defended a newly free Rome by holding the bridge to the city (*Pons sublicius*, 'the bridge on piles') alone against the forces of Lars Por-senna and Tarquin, giving his countrymen time to destroy it, and leaping finally for safety into the Tiber as it fell.¹²⁴ As Livy describes it:

pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus uir fuisset, Horatius Cocles; id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit . . . itaque monere, praedicere ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque ui possint, interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. uadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obuensis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo audaciae obstupescit hostes . . . circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos prouocare, nunc increpare omnes: seruitia regum superbiorum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum uenire. cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant; pudor deinde commouit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela coniciunt. quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere uirum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pauore subito impetum sustinuit. tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit, 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.' ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranauit. (2.10.2–11)

(The *Pons sublicius* almost gave the enemy an entrance into the city, had it not been for one man: Horatius Cocles. On that day, the fortune of Rome had him as her defence. . . . [When, seeing the enemy, his companions threw down their weapons and began to flee] he therefore warned and commanded them to break down the bridge using iron,

¹²³ Skutsch further connects the Ennian fragment with an episode attested by Macrobius (6.2.32 = *Ann.* XV.iv), involving two Istrians sallying forth from the gates of Ambracia to wreak havoc on the besieging Romans, which would also have had a Homeric parallel (*Il.* 12.127–94 (Polypoetes and Leonteus)) and was likewise paralleled by Virgil (*Aen.* 9.672–755 (Pandarus and Bitias)): see Skutsch, pp. 556–9; Hardie (1994) on *Aen.* 672–755.

¹²⁴ On Cocles as *exemplum*, see Val. Max. 3.2.1; Chaplin (2000), 49; Roller (2004).

fire, whatever force they had at their disposal. He himself would bear the brunt of the enemy onslaught, in as much as it could be withstood by the body of a single man. He then strode to the very head of the bridge; amid the visibly retreating backs of those abandoning the fight, he was conspicuous with his weapons turned to go into face-to-face combat, stunning the enemy by the very wonder of his daring . . . Then, casting his fierce eyes menacingly over the forefighters of the Etruscans, he now challenged them individually, now taunted the lot: slaves of arrogant kings and careless of their own freedom, they were coming to attack the freedom of others. They hesitated for a while, each man looking at another to begin the fight. Shame then moved them into battle, and raising a shout, they hurled their weapons from every side at their sole opponent. When all those weapons stuck in his thrust-out shield and he held the bridge no less stubbornly, his feet firmly planted wide apart, they kept trying to force him off by charging at him, when the crash of the broken bridge and, at the same instant, the shout of the Romans, exuberant at finishing the job, stopped them in their tracks in sudden fear. Then Cocles said, 'Father Tiber, holy one, I pray that you receive these weapons and this soldier in your propitious stream.' So saying, he jumped down, arms and all, into the Tiber, and with many spears falling on him, swam safely to his companions.)

R. M. Ogilvie points out that 'the whole scene . . . was probably mediated to Livy through Ennius for the language contains much that is characteristic of Latin poetical usage'.¹²⁵ Livy's passage as a whole contains a number of details that point to a model in the *Iliad* (12.440–71 (Hector breaking through the Achaean wall)),¹²⁶ a model that might have been mediated through Ennius, and, as Ogilvie points out, Livy frequently employs Latin poetic, and often epic, diction, such as Cocles' gaze, *circumferens . . . oculos*¹²⁷ and *truces minaciter oculos*.¹²⁸ Moreover, the soldier's prayer to 'Father Tiber' (*Tiberine pater*) echoes the similar prayer in the *Annales* (*teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*, 'and you father Tiber with your holy stream' (*Ann.* 26)).¹²⁹ Ennius told the story of the defence of Rome against

¹²⁵ Ogilvie (1965) on Livy 2.10.8.

¹²⁶ Ogilvie (1965), 260.

¹²⁷ *Ov. Met.* 6.169, 15.674.

¹²⁸ *Luc.* 7.291; *Sil. Pun.* 3.76. Cf. also *detrudere* with *Plaut. Merc.* 116 and *Aen.* 9.510 and, see Ogilvie (1965), 260, for further examples of poetic usage.

¹²⁹ Ogilvie (1965), 260. Though attested for Book 1 of the *Annales*, the prayer could certainly have been repeated in other forms by different characters, as it is in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 8.72, 10.421). Note also the striking use of *hunc militem* for *me* (cf. *Ann.* 209).

Tarquinius Superbus and Lars Porsenna, and it seems likely that, despite Macrobius' omission, Ogilvie's idea that there was probably an Ennian source for Livy's Cocles episode is right.¹³⁰ Horatius Cocles appears tearing down the bridge along with other Ennian material on Aeneas' shield in *Aeneid* 8 during the war against Tarquin and Porsenna (*pontem . . . uellere Cocles* (8.650)), and a surviving line of the *Annales*, at *Horatius inclutus saltu* (*Ann.* 123), although Skutsch assigns it to one of the Horatii, may yet refer to Cocles.¹³¹ Though none of this is conclusive evidence in itself, the legend is an ancient one, found in other Republican sources including Polybius, who already presents the tale of Cocles as the most notable paradigmatic instance of the exemplary stories told by the Romans (6.54.6–6.55.4).¹³² We know, too, of a statue of Cocles erected after the event in the *comitium* (or the Vulcanal on its southern flank), visible at the heart of Republican Rome, so bringing the hero naturally to the minds and eyes of Ennius and his readers (2.10.12).¹³³ Rather than just a one-off or a Homeric copy, therefore, the lone tribune labouring under heavy fire seems likely to be following Cocles' example.

As well as Ennius' tribune and Homer's Ajax, the exemplary paradigm of Horatius Cocles, the 'one man' (*unus uir* (Livy 2.10.2)) fighting against the many, clearly lies behind Turnus' lone fight in *Aeneid* 9, too. Memories of the ancient exemplary hero holding the bridge across the Tiber come to the fore, in particular, in the final lines of Turnus' stand. As commentators point out, when Turnus leaps into the Tiber for safety, arms and all, '[t]he reader cannot help thinking of Horatius Cocles jumping into the river after holding the bridge against Lars Porsenna'.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Since Macrobius probably had no first-hand access to the text of the *Annales*, the fact that he does not point out an Ennian Cocles in the background to the three quoted passages would not be surprising: Macrobius' sources frequently miss (or Macrobius' does not mention from his sources) other very obvious Ennian parallels that we know from other sources (e.g. 6.3.5 citing Homer, Furius, and Virgil but omitting *Ann.* 584, and 6.3.6 citing Homer and Virgil but not *Ann.* 469–70: cf. Skutsch, p. 34).

¹³¹ See Skutsch, p. 274, for doubts about the transmitted book number.

¹³² *πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἱστορεῖται παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν δ' ἀρκούν ἔσται πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐπ' ὀνόματος ῥηθὲν ὑποδείγματος καὶ πίστεως ἕνεκεν* (6.54.6). In Polybius' version, Horatius drowns in the Tiber, sacrificing his life for the state. On Polybius' account as specifically couched in exemplary terms, see Roller (2004), 1–2. Cf. also Cic. *Parad.* 12.

¹³³ On the statue, see Ogilvie (1965) on Livy 2.10; Roller (2004), 20. Cf. also sect. IV.ii on Livian and Ennian echoes in Virgil's Turnus.

¹³⁴ R. D. Williams (1973) on 9.815f.; cf. Hardie (1994) on *Aen.* 9.815–18.

tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis
 in fluuium dedit. ille suo cum gurgite flauo
 accepit uenientem ac mollibus extulit undis
 et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.

Aen. 9.815–18

(Then, at last, with a leap he dived headlong into the river, arms and all. The Tiber received him as he came with its yellow flood and bore him up with its gentle waves, and, with the slaughter washed away, sent him back happy to his comrades.)

Just as Livy's Cocles leaps to safety into the Tiber and swims to his comrades, *sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranauit* ('he jumped down, arms and all, into the Tiber, and with many spears falling on him, swam safely to his companions' (Livy 2.10.11)) so Turnus leaps 'arms and all' (*omnibus armis* (*Aen.* 9.815); cf. *sic armatus* (Livy 2.10.11)) to safety (*Aen.* 9. 817–18; cf. *incolumis* (Livy 2.10.11)) and his companions (*sociis* (*Aen.* 9.818); cf. *ad suos* (Livy 2.10.11)). The language seems to suggest not just Livy but Ennius as well. The possible reference to Cocles at *Ann.* 123, at *Horatius inclutus saltu*, may be echoed in *saltu* (9.815), while *cum gurgite flauo* (9.816) of the Tiber's water echoes *cum flumine sancto* (*Ann.* 26), also of the Tiber, the river which, with its gentle waters, saved Ilia and her twins in Ennius, as in Virgil the same river (unlike Livy's which has no agency) actively saves Turnus (*mollibus . . . undis* (*Aen.* 9.817)).

Yet, as in the parade of heroes, the repetition of exemplary behaviour and exemplary paradigms in Virgil is not straightforward. Lucan was later to reanimate the episode of the exemplary hero alone under heavy fire, when Scaeva meets Pompey's forces, a man against an army (*bellum | atque uirum* (Luc. 6.191–2)):

illum tota premit moles, illum omnia tela,
 nulla fuit non certa manus, non lancea felix;
 parque nouum Fortuna uidet concurrere, bellum
 atque uirum. fortis crebris sonat ictibus umbo,
 et galeae fragmenta cauae conpressa perurunt
 tempora, nec quicquam nudis uitalibus obstat
 iam praeter stantis in summis ossibus hastas.

Luc. 6.189–95

(The entire mass of soldiers presses him, every weapon attacks him; every hand was surely aimed, every lance successful, and Fortune sees a novel pair fight: a man against an army. His strong shield-boss resounds with the frequent blows and the crushed fragments of his hollow helmet chafe his temples, and nothing now protects his naked vitals except the spears sticking in the surface of his bones.)

Scaeva displays the powers of a superhero in his role as the *unus uir* fighting for Rome alone, but he is fighting Romans. In part, Lucan presents Scaeva as *exemplum* only to enact the breakdown of the stability of exemplary interpretation and the possibility of exemplary behaviour.¹³⁵ Something similar seems to be going on with the presentation of Turnus at the end of *Aeneid* 9. He is the *unus homo* of Roman exemplarity (*Aen.* 9.783; cf. *unus uir* (Livy 2.10.2)), but the camp he is attacking is a proto-Rome, and the stains of the blood he has spilled need to be washed away (*abluta caede* (*Aen.* 9.818)). In some ways, he is more of an anti-Cocles, sometimes appearing more like the king against whom Cocles was defending Rome (*superbus* himself and *tyrannus* (10.448)), a typical *exemplum malum*.

ii. The Death of Turnus: Ennian Examples and Decian Paradigms

Roman *exempla* just as often focus on how a life is ended as how a life is lived. As Catharine Edwards points out, death, for Romans and particularly as presented by Roman writers, is ‘a privileged moment which has the capacity to reveal the true character of the dying subject’.¹³⁶ Above all, the dying subject can favourably reveal their ‘true character’ by making their death a sacrifice for the state: by dying for Rome. Probably the most famous and most extreme example of this in Roman memory is the *deuotio ducis*, a tradition exemplified by the Decii Mures, in which, even on the verge of defeat, one man sacrifices his life for the hoped-for success of the many. Whatever the historical reality of their deeds, the Decii became a

¹³⁵ Leigh (1997), ch. 5 ‘Scaeva: Lucan’s Exemplary Hero’, 153–90. On Scaeva’s *uirtus*, see also Hardie (1993), 68–9. Cf. also Marti (1966).

¹³⁶ Edwards (2007), 5.

‘potent imaginary construct’ in Roman collective remembrance, and their *deuotiones* exemplary paradigms of Roman patriotism.¹³⁷

The death of Turnus has often been likened to that of the Decii Mures.¹³⁸ Though not a strict *deuotio ducis* in its full religious sense, Turnus expressly ‘devotes’ his life for his *patria*. Two statements, one shortly before and one near the end of Turnus’ fight with Aeneas, are especially pertinent. In the Latin debate Turnus announces that he will meet Aeneas alone in a duel:

uobis animam hanc soceroque Latino
Turnus ego, haud ulli ueterum uirtute secundus,
deuoui.

Aen. 11.440–2

(I, Turnus, have devoted [*deuoui*] my life to you and to my father-in-law Latinus, second to none of our ancestors in valour.)

Juturna makes similar remarks about the nature of Turnus’ death, when, sent down from the sky to try to delay his death, she berates the Latins in the guise of a Rutulian warrior for their comparable cowardice by holding up the example of Turnus:

ille quidem ad superos, quorum se deuouet aris,
succedet fama uiuusque per ora feretur.

Aen. 12.234–5

(He will rise on fame to the gods above, on whose altars he has devoted [*deuouet*] his life, and he will be borne alive on the lips of men.)

For readers of the *Aeneid* familiar with Roman history’s heroes and conditioned to remember the past in terms of *exempla*, Turnus, bartering death for fame (*letum . . . pro laude* (*Aen.* 12.49)), would have naturally been read as a precursor to the Decii and their *deuotiones*. The first readers of the *Aeneid* were also readers of the

¹³⁷ Edwards (2007), 27; cf. Feldherr (1998), 92; Litchfield (1914), 46–8; Bücher (2006), 185–6. The Decian *exemplum* was still studied in schools in Cicero’s day (*Rhet. Her.* 4.57), perhaps even using Ennius’ own account. Cf. also Livy 8.19–11.1 with Oakley (1998) ad loc.; Val Max 5.6.5–6; Sen. *Ep.* 6.7.9. Bücher (2006), 185, with further bibliography, points to a possible monument to the Decii in the Forum Augustum. The revised version of *deuotio*, dedicated to Augustus, by Sex. Pacuvius (or Apudius) would also give the action contemporary resonance (Dio Cass. 53.20.2–4; Oakley (1998), 484). On the Decii in Ennius, see sect. II.

¹³⁸ See, e.g., Johnson (1976), 117–19; Cavallaro (1985); Galinsky (1988); Leigh (1993); Hardie (1993), 28–9; Thomas (1998); Panoussi (2009), 56–71, none of which, however, mention Ennian connections.

Annales, and the use of a Decian *deuotio* in Virgil's poem follows not only a historical (or 'almost-historical'¹³⁹) example, but an Ennian one. Clues point to the conclusion that it is specifically an Ennian Decius whom Virgil has in mind. Turnus declares himself *haud ulli ueterum uirtute secundus* ('second to none of our ancestors in virtue' (*Aen.* 11.441)), an ambition which he urges on his whole army (*nunc magna referto | facta, patrum laudes*, 'now let each recall the great deeds, the glory of our ancestors' (*Aen.* 10.281–2)). His desire to equal or excel draws on the discourse of exemplarity, and combined with the word *deuoui* (*Aen.* 11.442), it also implies Decius specifically, adamant to devote his life *patrio exemplo* (Accius *Decius* 11 Manu-wald = 680 Dangel). As Richard Thomas notes, from the perspective of Roman readers *uirtus . . . ueterum* (*Aen.* 11.441) can partly be focalized through future time: not so much as Turnus' ancestors, but the achievements of the later, more famous ancestors of Rome,¹⁴⁰ and implicitly inviting readers to recall (*referto* (*Aen.* 10.280)), too, their reading of the great deeds of our ancestors (*maxima facta patrum*) given epic form by Ennius in the *Annales*.¹⁴¹ At 11.440–2, Turnus echoes the *deuotio* prayer of Decius Mus, which, in epic, Ennius had first incorporated into his poem:

diui hoc audite parumper:
ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis
certando prudens animam de corpore mitto,
<sic>

Ann. 191–4 = *Non.* 150.7

(Gods, hear my prayer a little while: just as on behalf of the Roman people, with foreknowledge and awareness, fighting in arms, I dispatch the life from my body, <so> . . .)

Moreover, the wording of Juturna's 'epitaph' for Turnus is clearly suggestive of an Ennian past:

ille quidem ad superos, quorum se deuouet aris,
succedet fama uiuusque per ora feretur.

Aen. 12.234–5

(He will rise on fame to the gods above, on whose altars he has devoted his life, and he will be borne alive on the lips of men.)

¹³⁹ Horsfall (2003) on *Aen.* 11.440–2.

¹⁴⁰ 'The *ueteres* to whom Turnus is equal, will be in a sense republicans, even the Decii, *ueteres* from the perspective of Vergilian time' (Thomas (1998), 285).

¹⁴¹ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.34 = Courtney *FLP* fr. 45.

uiusque per ora feretur (12.235) clearly quotes Ennius' famous epitaph, in which he declared, 'I fly alive on the lips of men' (*uolito uiuos per ora uirum*), so setting up Turnus, and more broadly the *Aeneid*, as an emulator of the Ennian past.¹⁴²

The original connection with an Ennian Decius may have gone further than this. Turnus' *aristeia* is introduced by an invocation to the Muses, in which the poet asks the goddesses, and Calliope in particular, to re-energize his verse and activate his memory before he begins the added challenge of narrating it:

uos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti
 quas ibi tum ferro strages, quae funera Turnus
 ediderit, quem quisque uirum demiserit Orco,
 et mecum ingentis oras euoluite belli.

Aen. 9.525–8

(I pray to you, Muses and Calliope, breathe on me as I sing what destruction, what deaths Turnus then dealt with the sword, and which man each sent down to hell, and with me unroll the vast realm of war.)

The poet asks for the Muses' renewed inspiration (*adspirate* (9.525)) to expound the details of his material, but at the same time *euoluere* (*Aen.* 9.528) suggests the 'unrolling' of a book roll,¹⁴³ implicitly also asking for their support in confronting with him the read and remembered literary past. Part of the past is Homeric: Turnus' *aristeia* interacts intensely with Homer's *Iliad*, already signalled by programmatic echoes in the invocation that introduces it.¹⁴⁴ But the poetic past evoked would have been Ennian, too. Echoing Homer, the invocation at *Aeneid* 9.525–8 also picks up *Annales* 164, likewise about the poet's task, where *euoluere*, too, suggests unrolling a book roll:

quis potis ingentis oras euoluere belli
Ann. 164¹⁴⁵

(Who can unroll the vast realm of war?)

¹⁴² Cic. *Tusc.* 1.34 = var. 17–8 Vahlen² = Courtney *FLP* fr. 46. Ennius' epitaph is used for the poet's plan in the proem to the third *Georgic*. Cf. Ch. 2 sect. III. Nickbakht (2010) therefore reads Turnus as a metapoetic figure for Ennius in the poem.

¹⁴³ Hardie (1994) ad loc.

¹⁴⁴ With *Aen.* 9.527 cf. *Il.* 1.3 and cf. e.g. *Il.* 11.218–20 (the invocation to the Muse before Agamemnon's *aristeia*): Knauer (1964); Hardie (1994) on *Aen.* 9.525–8.

¹⁴⁵ = Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.86; Macrobian. 6.1.18; *Serv. Dan.* on *Aen.* 9.526; Diom. 1.385.

Ennius' lines are attested for Book 6 and Skutsch is probably right in inferring from Quintilian 6.3.86 that the line opened the book.¹⁴⁶ Virgil's allusion would, therefore, already place Turnus' *aristeia* in dialogue with Book 6 of Ennius' *Annales*, for which the lines on Decius are attested.¹⁴⁷ Which 'war' *Annales* 164 refers to, and consequently which of the Decii was showcased in the book, is a matter of dispute for which the evidence is equally slender on both sides. *bellum* might refer to 'warfare' in general, and the book might thus have included the Third Samnite War and the *deutio* of the second Decius at *Annales* 191–4,¹⁴⁸ or else it refers to one war in particular, the Pyrrhic War, with *Annales* 191–4 describing the failed *deutio* of the youngest Decius at Ausculum.¹⁴⁹ Whether Turnus is following an original success or failure, however, once again, by *Aeneid* 12, fighting against 'the origin of the Roman race' (*Romanae stirpis origo* (12.166)), his exemplary pretensions end in failure, just as his initial Homeric self-image as Achilles (*Aen.* 9.742) famously proves wrong.¹⁵⁰ Essentially, whichever Decius he might originally have echoed, for Virgil's first readers, Turnus was not just a Homeric hero. Interacting both with Rome's literary culture and its culture of memory, he was also an equally complex Ennian exemplary hero.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Skutsch, p. 329; Skutsch (1987). Ennius' line was also important to Lucretius' self-definition in *De rerum natura*, 5.1–2: *quis potis est dignum pollenti pectora carmen | condere?*

¹⁴⁷ If Cornell is right to argue that *Ann.* 164 need not have introduced the book but rather 'marked the beginning of a new section' (1986), 249, the line might, as in Virgil, conceivably have introduced a parallel *aristeia*.

¹⁴⁸ Cornell (1986), 249 and (1987), 516.

¹⁴⁹ Skutsch, pp. 353–4. See sect. II.

¹⁵⁰ *hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem* ('You will tell Priam that you have found an Achilles here too'). On Turnus' initial self-image as Achilles which eventually shifts to an actual alignment with Homer's Hector in the allusive texture of the poem, see e.g. Lyne (1987), 108–10.

¹⁵¹ The stallion simile at *Ann.* 535–9 (*sed. inc.*), echoed in the comparison of Turnus to a stallion at *Aen.* 11.492–7, likewise suggests that Virgil's Turnus is figured as an Ennian hero as well as a Homeric one (in this case Paris (*Il.* 6.506–14) or Hector (*Il.* 15.263–70)). Wigodsky's assertion (1972), 58 that while 'it is clear that Vergil drew from both the Greek and the Latin model . . . [i]t is equally clear . . . that Vergil used the simile, not because of its context in Ennius, whatever that may have been, but in order to identify Turnus [through allusion to Homer] as the ill-starred lover and defender of his homeland' is unfounded. What the original context in Ennius may have been remains a matter for conjecture; Merula's suggestion, however, that the referent was Decius Mus (also a 'defender of his homeland') should not necessarily be dismissed, as Skutsch dismisses it, simply because 'Decius rode on horseback' during the *deutio* itself (p. 684), since tenor and vehicle can often blur in

V. CONCLUSION

In Aeneas' address to his son (*Aen.* 12.435–40), he sets himself up as an *exemplum uirtutis*—albeit a problematic one—which Ascanius and his Roman descendants should remember and from which they ought to learn. Just as Horace promoted the new poetry, the *Aeneid*'s aim is partly to equip the growing generations with memorable examples (*orientia tempora notis | instruit exemplis* (*Epist.* 2.1.130–1)). But the examples of the past, and past epic, cannot simply be forgotten. Augustus, engaging in his own self-construction vis-à-vis the Republican past in the *Res gestae*, stated:

legibus nouis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam
ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda
posteris tradidi.

(With new laws carried by my authorship, I brought back into use many examples of our ancestors, already disappearing in our time, and in many ways I myself passed down examples to be imitated by posterity.)¹⁵²

Exemplum is a powerful way of remembering. It taps into Rome's major traditions of education and recollection. Despite Augustus' biased claim that *exempla* were disappearing in the period, most of Ennius' *exempla* were, on the contrary, firmly embedded in Rome's collective memory. In a way, this creates a serious problem for the *Aeneid*. Virgil's poem, too, as the new Roman epic, deploys Republican paradigms of exemplary memory, weaving the examples of the great figures of Roman history into the fabric of the text. In doing so, it inevitably asks to be compared with the *Annales*, which, in epic, had held the major responsibility of imparting these stories to Rome. In dealing with the *exempla* Ennius had canonized in epic poetry, the new poem at once appropriates these key moments in collective memory and confuses and inverts Ennius' representation of them, ultimately clearing a space for itself as the new repository of *exempla imitanda posteris*.

epic similes. For Virgil's simile, see esp. Horsfall (2003) on *Aen.* 11.492–7 with further bibliography.

¹⁵² *Mon. Anc.* 8.5. On the close link between the concepts of *exempla maiorum* and *mos maiorum*, cf. Walter (2004), 56.

Postscript

Annales nostrorum . . . laborum

Aen. 1.373

Tastes change and texts disappear. Despite a return to favour in the archaizing period when the emperor Hadrian declared that he preferred Ennius to Virgil, the *Annales* were decisively replaced by the *Aeneid* as the foundation text of Roman epic and Roman memory. Ennius' epic, though, is one of the more interesting losses in Latin poetry. Even after the text was no longer available, the poem still exercised its fascination from references and quotations preserved in other ancient authors. Well before the scholarly tradition on the Ennian text began, the idea of *pater Ennius* haunted Petrarch in the *Africa* (left unfinished at his death in 1374), in which the Florentine poet, 'like a second Ennius' (*uelut Ennius alter* (2.443)), brings the antique poet of the Second Punic War back to life. Scholars, too, have speculated that the mysterious figure mingling with Homer, Virgil, and Dante in Raphael's famous *Parnassus* (in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican in Rome) depicts the ancient poet himself.¹ Today, Lecce in southern Italy, which houses the Porta Rudiae, attracts tourists by its claim to the gates to the elusive city that was once the home of Ennius, the father of Roman poetry: the city's own 'concretion of identity' by means of memories and memorials of real or imagined pasts.²

In the end, however, the *Aeneid* won the literary historical competition almost outright. This may, at least partly, be put down to an accident of history or the vagaries of taste that put it at the centre of the western canon for so long.³ But the victory is no less due to the fact that Virgil himself in the *Aeneid* actively perpetrated 'the perfect parricide',⁴ replacing the epic of his poetic *pater* by means of a deep-reaching appropriation of the role of the *Annales* in Roman culture. The aim of this book has been to look at that process in action,

¹ The identification of Ennius on the fresco goes back to Vasari's life of Raphael (1550); Redig de Campos (1935). On Ennius in the Renaissance, see further Goldschmidt (2012); on Ennius and Petrarch, see esp. Suerbaum (1972); Hardie (2007).

² For the term, see J. Assmann (1995), 128.

whether in terms of the kind of Freudian axe-murder of the poetic father that others have identified, or other more benign, perhaps, or more devious moves that the *Aeneid* uses to deal with its belated position vis-à-vis *pater Ennius*.⁵ Highly influential work in the last few decades has shown that Virgil spawned a number of obsessive epic successors,⁶ but Virgil, too, was originally an epic successor, above all of Ennius' *Annales*, in the dynamic tradition of Latin epic.

In some ways all texts, and classical texts above all, exist via reception: mediated by centuries of ideologically tinged appropriations and based on lost original manuscripts copied by generations of scribes and scholars who each made choices about what to copy and how to emend or arrange it. The 'scientific' activity of creating usable ancient texts and the activities of literary interpretation have always been uneasy bedfellows: good philological reasons based on external evidence tend to mask the fact that there is always a certain amount of circularity and readerly assumption involved.⁷ Though inherently more unstable than other texts and more vulnerable to the constructions of their readers, fragmentary texts are in many ways an extreme case of all classical texts as we have them.⁸ For philologists like Norden, Virgil provides a source for Ennius' text; but the *Aeneid*, too, is partly responsible for mediating the 'Ennius' we know or think we know. The use of Virgilian or other later contexts for thinking about possible lost Ennian ones, therefore, which was basic to Norden's method, is intrinsically problematic. Yet while we can no longer employ Norden's tools to 'rebuild' scenes from the lost original, given how little survives of the *Annales* and how well known the poem was in the first century BC, entertaining the evidence for such

³ Cf. Kermode (1975). ⁴ Gildenhard (2007), 74.

⁵ Gildenhard (2007); Casali (2007); Nickbakht (2010).

⁶ See esp. Hardie (1993).

⁷ Cf. Burrow (2011) on the telling, if extreme, application of the principles of textual criticism in Bentley's 'emended' edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, purportedly mistranscribed by an incompetent amanuensis (Bentley's Milton ends, 'Then hand in hand with Social steps their way | Through Eden took, With Heav'nly comfort cheer'd'). On the pervasive impossibility of wholly objective scholarly solutions, cf. Gumbrecht (1997).

⁸ Goldschmidt (2012); cf. Stephens (2002), esp. 68 on how fragments 'exacerbate habits of authority and obscurity' already observable in editions and commentaries on works transmitted whole, and 84 with duBois (1995), 39: 'we have come to recognize that our access to the past is always fragmented, our construction of our past interested, particular, and historically determined'. For the idea that 'we cannot get back to any meaning wholly free of subsequent accretions' see e.g. Martindale (1993), 7.

contextualizations as a possibility often makes sense, even as we accept that they must remain necessarily provisional.⁹ The fragments of the *Annales* as we have them are already radically torn from the original, and provisional contexts are no less distortive than the citation contexts in which we find Ennius' lines quoted, or the reification of them as fragments.

At the same time, however, the mediations of reception can be useful, too. In particular, we have substantial evidence for how Ennius was read in the first century BC: Virgil's Ennius was already 'mediated' and there is a relatively large amount of material that might suggest the kind of 'Ennius' that Virgil was reacting to. This study has drawn substantially on that evidence as well as on the broader evidence for the cultures of memory in early Republican and Augustan Rome in order to gauge the dynamics of the relationship between the two poems. Collective memory played a central function in Roman society. The *Annales* were embedded in that process of memorialization and commemoration, drawing on modes of remembrance in Roman culture, and—as the poem gained its foothold in the canon—themselves becoming implicated in Rome's culture of memory. It is this status, I have argued, that, to a large extent, the *Aeneid* seeks to undermine and appropriate. Before it was virtually erased, Ennius' epic, like the *Aeneid*, constituted a *lieu de mémoire* in itself, closely implicated in the stories and memories of Rome, to which writers and readers returned again and again.

Other chapters in the story remain to be written. More on the role of the historiographical tradition in the *Aeneid*, for instance, would add to the picture presented here, as would the understudied presence of Roman drama in Virgil's epic, in which Ennius in his other guise as Graeco-Roman dramatist, sometimes interacting with *Ennius epicus*, plays a key part. More work on Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and Ennius (also a relationship of partial appropriation of the old poet's antique authority, where the successor revises the content of its precursor), as well as other literary voices, Greek and Roman, contained in Virgil's totalizing epic would add further pieces to the puzzle. Similarly, the tension between antiquity and modernity in Augustan poetry more broadly, reflecting that which has long been

⁹ On the importance of entertaining original contexts for Ennius' fragments 'even though they remain virtual scenarios', see A. Barchiesi (2009), 451. Cf. Gumbrecht (1997) and Stephens (2002), 84. On Norden's 'too sharp tools', see Horsfall (2000), 355.

identified in the cultural and political life of the principate, is a phenomenon in which the reception of Ennius and his *Annales* are importantly intertwined. Essentially, however, what I felt was pressing, and one of the main things this book has sought to do, is extensively to re-emphasize, almost a century after Norden's *Ennius und Vergilius*, the importance of the *Annales* as an intertext for the *Aeneid*. Rather than using this fact, as Norden did, primarily to reconstruct large-scale episodes of Ennius' lost original, however, I have focused on how episodes and echoes from the *Annales* may have functioned within the *Aeneid*, bringing to bear the comparative wealth of evidence for the reception of Ennius' epic to consider how it was read and used in the period before and during the composition of the *Aeneid*, and how that, in turn, might have influenced Virgil's reception of the *Annales* in his own epic. What emerges above all is that the position of the *Annales* in Roman culture in the first century BC meant that what was required of the *Aeneid*, and what the poem largely achieved—beyond simply allusion and intertextuality—was the appropriation of the positive connotations of Ennius' shaggy crown and the role of his epic in the collective memory of Rome.

APPENDIX

The following table lists the clearest extant verbal parallels between the *Aeneid* and the *Annales*. It also includes references to a number of more speculative parallels of context or language (marked in *italics*), as well as the few surviving parallels with the extant fragments of Ennius' *Scipio*, whose subject overlaps with the Punic books of the *Annales*, the *Euhemerus*, and the epitaphs associated with the poet in antiquity (Courtney *FLP* frs. 45 and 46). Overall, I have tried to build up a picture of areas in Virgil's epic where an allusive background in Ennius' *Annales* may have been at play, and for that reason, instances of vaguer 'Ennian usage' noted in the standard commentaries on Virgil are not included here. Page references to other parts of the monograph are set in **bold type**.

<i>Aeneid</i> 1	<i>Annales</i>
1.1 <i>arma uirumque</i> [repeated with variation at <i>Aen.</i> 1.119; 2.668; 4.495; 6.233, 814; 9.57, 462, 620, 777; 11.696, 747]	[posited as a possible Ennian word group by Norden (1957), 368 n. 2 and Bloch (1970) (both highly speculative); Wigodsky (1972), 123 (sceptical); cf. Kraggerud (2003) and Nickbakht (2010), 50 for the wider context of Ennius in the poem]
1.12 <i>Tyrii tenuere coloni</i>	22 quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini
1.19–20 progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci audierat Tyrias olim quae uerteret arces [p. 104 n. 13; cf. on 1.279–82]	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 1.20: in Ennio enim inducitur Iuppiter promittens Romanis excidium Carthaginis (= <i>Ann.</i> VIII.xv)
1.23 <i>Saturnia</i> [Juno: also <i>Aen.</i> 3.380; 4.92; 5.606; 7.428, 560, 572, 622; 9.2, 745, 802; 10.659, 760; 12.156, 178, 807]	53 respondit Iuno Saturnia , sancta dearum [the epithet is applied to Juno and Italy in both epics (cf. on <i>Aen.</i> 1.569): Wigodsky (1972), 67–8]
1.35 <i>spumas salis aere ruebant</i>	378 caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum
1.51 <i>nimborum in patriam, loca feta</i> <i>furentibus Austris</i> [<i>Aen.</i> 2.304]	601 furentibus uentis [Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 1.51; Horsfall (2008) on <i>Aen.</i> 2.304]
1.65 <i>diuum pater atque hominum rex</i> [= <i>Aen.</i> 2.648; 10.2, 743]	203 diuom pater atque hominum rex 591 diuomque hominumque pater, rex 592 patrem diuomque hominumque [Cf. the Homeric formula <i>πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε</i> <i>θεῶν τε</i> (<i>Il.</i> 1.544, etc.): Moskalew (1982), 86]
1.81–2 cauum conuersa cuspide montem impulit in latus	564 nam me grauis impetus Orci percutit in latus
1.123 <i>imber</i> = sea-water	515–6 ratibusque fremebat imber Neptuni

<i>Aeneid</i> 1	<i>Annales</i>
1.148–56 (<i>Statesman simile</i>)	79–83 (<i>Consul simile</i>)
1.224 ueliuolum	379–80 quom procul aspiciunt hostes accedere uentis nauibus ueliuolis [Cf. <i>Alexander</i> 45 Jocelyn; Lucr. 5.1442]
1.225 latos populos	12–13 latos <per> populos res atque poemata nostra clara> cluebunt
1.254–5 (Jupiter's smile)	446–7 (Jupiter's smile)
olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum uultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat [cf. 12.829 olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor (Jupiter to Juno)]	Iuppiter hic risit tempestatesque serenae riserunt omnes risu Iouis omnipotentis [“Ὁς φάτο, μείδῃσεν δὲ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (Il. 5.426 = 15.47)"]
1.259–60 (Deification of Aeneas) [p. 129 n. 92]	54–5 (Deification of Romulus)
sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli magnanimum Aenean	unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli templa
1.262 longius et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo	403 quippe uetusta uirum non est satis bella moueri [for the verb, see Skutsch ad loc.; Austin (1971) on Aen. 1.262; Horsfall (2000) on Aen. 7.45]
1.279–82 (The reconciliation of Juno (I)) [p. 104; cf. Aen. 12.791–842]	(The reconciliation of Juno)
quin aspera Iuno . . . consilia in melius referet, mecumque fouebit Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam.	Servius on Aen. 1.281: quia bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, pacta Iuno coepit fauere Romanis (= Ann. VIII.xvi) [Feeney (1984)]
(Gates of War) [see on 7.622]	(Gates of War)
1.294 claudentur Belli portae	226 Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit
1.341–68 (<i>Venus on the origins of Carthage</i>) [p. 108]	(Origo Carthaginis?) 472 Poenos Sarra oruindos 213 quantis consiliis quantumque potasset in armis 214 Poeni soliti suos sacrificare puellōs 215 Poeni stipendia pendunt [Skutsch, pp. 367, 379–85; Norden (1915), 76–101; Ann. 232ff. Flores with Tomasco ad loc., repositioning 472 as part of the episode]
1.372–4 O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam et uacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum , ante diem clauso componet <i>Vesper Olympo</i> . [p. 167 n. 77]	<i>Metaliterary play on Ennius' title?</i>
1.426 sanctumque senatum [p. 93 with n. 81]	272 consilio indu foro lato sanctoque senatu
1.467 Troiana iuuentus [cf. Aen. 2.63]	499 Romana iuuentus

1.530 est locus, **Hesperiam** Grai
cognomine dicunt (= 3.163)
[cf. pp. 55, 132; *Hesperia* also at *Aen.* 1.569;
2.781; 3.163, 185, 186, 503; 4.355; 7.4, 44,
543; 8.148; 12.360]

1.569 seu uos **Hesperiam** magnam
Saturniaque arua
[cf. *Ecl.* 4.6; 6.41; *Aen.* 11.252 (*Saturnia*
regna); *G.* 2.173; *Aen.* 8.329 (*Saturnia*
tellus); *Aen.* 8.358 (*illi fuerat Saturnia*
nomen)]

1.640–2 *ingens argentum mensis, caelataque*
in auro | **fortia facta patrum**, *series*
longissima rerum | *per tot ducta uiros*
antiqua ab origine gentis.

1.726 **lychni**

1.743 **imber et ignes**

20 est locus **Hesperiam** quam mortales
perhibebant
[cf. 140 uento quem perhibent Graium
genus aera lingua]

20 est locus **Hesperiam** quam mortales
perhibebant
21 **Saturnia** terra

(Ennius' epitaph) *aspicite, o ciues, senis*
Enni imaginis formam. | hic uestrum panxit
maxima facta patrum.
[Cic. *Tusc.* 1.34 = Courtney *FLP* fr. 45]

311 **lychnorum lumina bis sex**
[*Lucr.* 5.295; *Lucil.* 16 Krenkel = 15 Marx.
The context in Ennius may also be a dining
scene: Skutsch ad loc.]

221 **imber et ignis**

Aeneid 2

2.46 aut haec in nostros fabricata est
machina muros

2.50 **ualidis . . . uiribus**
[cf. *Aen.* 5.368 *uastis cum uiribus*; 5.500
tum ualidis flexos incuruant uiribus arcus;
6.833 *neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite*
uiris]

2.63 **Troiana iuuentus**
[see on 1.467]

2.148–9 (*Priam to Sinon*)
quisquis es . . . | noster eris
[cf. *Aen.* 1.573–4 (*Dido's offer to unite the*
Trojans with the Carthaginians): *urbem*
quam statuo, uestra est; subducite nauis; |
Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine
agetur.]

2.241–2 . . . o **diuum domus** Ilium et
incluta bello | *moenia Dardanidum!*
2.250 **uertitur interea caelum** et ruit
Oceano nox

Annales

620 **machina** multa minax minitatur
maxima muris

298 uiri uaria **ualidis . . . uiribus** luctant
[after the Homeric *κρατερῆφι βίηφι* (*Il.*
21.501; *Od.* 12.210); *Lucr.* 1.287, 971; 3.451;
5.1098; Cic. *Aratea* 146]

234–5 (*Hannibal?*)
hostem qui feriet ferit (inquit) mi[†]
Carthaginensis | quisquis erit. cuiatis siet
[*Skutsch ad loc.*; Wigodsky (1972), 71–2]

586 **diuom domus**, altisonum cael
155 **incluta** . . . Roma
205 **uertitur interea caelum** cum ingentibus
signis
[for *nox* as final monosyllable cf. 419
montibus obstipis obstantibus, unde oritur
nox]

<i>Aeneid</i> 2	<i>Annales</i>
2.265 inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam [variations at <i>Aen.</i> 3.630; 9.189; 236; 316]	288 nunc hostes uino domiti somnoque sepulti [<i>Lucr.</i> 1.133 (<i>somnoque sepultis</i>); 5.974; <i>Livy</i> 25.24.6 (<i>grauatis . . . uino somnoque</i>); 1.7.5 (<i>uino ciboque grauatum</i>). Second Punic War, perhaps a speech of P. Sempronius Tuditanus in which he persuades soldiers who had escaped to a smaller camp after Cannae to break through the disorderly Cathaginians to join those in the larger camp: Skutsch ad loc.; Austin (1964) on <i>Aen.</i> 2.265; Berres (1977); Hardie (1994) on <i>Aen.</i> 9.189; Horsfall (2008) on <i>Aen.</i> 2.265]
2.268–97 (Aeneas' dream of Hektor) [pp. 13, 14, 82 with n. 49]	2–11 (Ennius' dream of Homer)
2.271 uisus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus	9 uisus Homerus adesse poeta [cf. <i>lacrimas effundere salsas</i> (<i>Lucr.</i> 1.125 = <i>Ann.</i> I.iv)]
2.274 ei mihi, qualis erat	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 2.274 ' <i>ei mihi</i> ': <i>Ennii uersus</i> [<i>ei mihi qualis erat</i> = <i>Ann.</i> 442; perhaps part of the account of Ennius' dream of Homer in the prologue to the <i>Annales</i> : Skutsch ad loc.; Flores (<i>Ann.</i> 6 Flores) assigns the fragment to the opening dream (taking <i>ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus</i> as Ennian)]
2.280 compellare uirum et maestas expromere uoces	43 exim compellare pater me uoce uidetur [Ilia on the spirit of Aeneas seen in a dream: Hardie (1993), 102–3; A. Barchiesi (2001), 133]
2.304 furentibus Austris [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 1.51]	601 furentibus uentis
(Destruction of Troy) [pp. 175–6]	(Destruction of Alba)
2.313 exoritur clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 2.313: <i>plerumque ad tubam euertuntur ciuitates sicut Albam Tullus Hostilius iussit euerti.</i>
2.486 at domus interior	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 2.486: <i>de Albano excidio translatus est locus.</i> [= <i>Ann.</i> II.xi: Norden (1915), 154–8; Skutsch, pp. 279–80]
2.360 nox . . . circumuolat [also <i>Aen.</i> 6.866]	414 nox quando mediis signis praecincta uolabit
2.366 poenas dant sanguine [variations at <i>G.</i> 1.405; <i>Aen.</i> 4.386; 6.585; 7.595, 766; 8.538; 9.422; 10.617, 669; 11.592; 12.949]	95 nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas [probably Romulus as he prepares to kill Remus; Wigodsky (1972), 72 on possible allusions in the <i>Aeneid</i> to 'the founding of Rome, the destined end of the suffering of the Trojans and Italians'; cf. however Tarrant (2012), 8 on the more troubling connotations of the echo at 12.948–9 of 'an act that by Virgil's time had become a paradigm for civil war'.]

2.486 *at domus interior* [see on 2.313]

2.488 *ferit aurea sidera clamor*
[variations at *Aen.* 5.140, 451; 11.192,
745; 12.462]

2.540–1 (Priam to Neoptolemus)

at non ille satum quo te mentiris, Achilles |
talīs in **hoste fuit** Priamo

2.592 **caelicolis**

[*Aen.* 2.641; 3.21; 6.554, 787; 10.6, 97, 117]

2.641 **caelicolae** [see on 2.592]

2.648 **diuum pater atque hominum rex**
[see on 1.65]

2.679–98 (*Flame omen*)

*Flames appear on Ascanius' head and
prodigy confirmed with thunder on the left
and a comet in the sky.*

2.687 ff. (Anchises' prophetic powers)

2.772 infelix **simulacrum**

[*G.* 1.477; *Aen.* 7.89 and cf. *Aen.* 10.822
modis . . . pallentia miris]

2.781 et terram **Hesperiam** uenies [see on
Aen. 1.530]

2.782 inter opima uirum **leni fluit agmine**
Thybris [p. 84 n. 51]

428 tollitur in caelum **clamor** exortus
utrimque

545 **clamor** ad caelum uolendus per
aethera uagit

[ἀύτη δ' οὐρανὸν ἔκειν (*Il.* 2.153, etc.)]

474–5 (of Hannibal?)

at non sic dubius fuit hostis | Aeacida
Burrus

[‘It must surely be a Roman speaker who
compares Rome’s great enemies’ (Skutsch,
p. 633): cf. p. 160 n. 50]

445 optima **caelicolum**, Saturnia, magna
dearum

145–6 (*Flame omen of Servius Tullius?*)

145 caelum prospexit stellis fulgentibus
aptum

146 olli de caelo laeuom dedit inclutus
signum [Skutsch, pp. 300–2 with *Serv.* on
Aen. 2.683; Wigodsky (1972), 46–7
(sceptical).]

15–6 doctus†que Anchisesque Venus quem
pulcra dearum | fari donauit, diuinum
pectus habere [Casali (2007), 114–19]

sed quaedam **simulacra** modis pallentia
miris

[the Ennian summary at *Lucr.* 1.123 (= *Ann.*
I.iv) with Skutsch ad loc.; Horsfall (2008) on
Aen. 2.772; Horsfall (2000) on 7.89]

163 quod per amoenam urbem **leni fluit**
agmine flumen

<i>Aeneid</i> 3	<i>Annales</i>
3.1 postquam res Asiae	137 postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit [probably also the opening of Book 3, likewise imitated by Sil. <i>Pun.</i> 3.1: Skutsch ad loc.; Tarrant (2012) on <i>Aen.</i> 12.1; cf. Horsfall (2006) on <i>Aen.</i> 3.1] 156 res . . . Romana [Horsfall (2006) on <i>Aen.</i> 3.1]
3.12 cum . . . penatibus et magnis dis [p. 161 n. 52; cf. <i>Aen.</i> 8.679]	190 dono—ducite—doque—uolentibus cum magnis dis
3.21 caelicolum [see on 2.592]	
3.163 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt [= 1.530]	
3.175 tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 7.459 (<i>toto . . . corpore sudor</i>); 9.812 (<i>toto corpore sudor</i>)]	417 tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor [cf. Lucr. 6.944: <i>manat item nobis e toto corpore sudor</i>]
3.185–7 et saepe Hesperiam , saepe Itala regna uocare. sed quis ad Hesperiae uenturos litora Teucros crederet? [see on 1.530]	
3.208 adnixa torquent spumas et caerulea uerrunt.	377–8 uerrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flauo caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum [cf. Cat 64.7: <i>caerulea uerrentes abiegnis aequora palmis</i>]
3.263 et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis	490 < passis > late palmis pater
3.288 (<i>Aeneas' inscription</i>) AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBUS ARMA	180–2 (<i>Pyrrhus' inscription?</i>) <i>qui antehac inuicti fuere uiri, pater optume Olympi, hos ego ui pugna uici uictusque sum ab isdem</i> [perhaps originally a report of Pyrrhus' inscription after the Battle of Heraclea: Skutsch ad loc.; Ann. 193–5 Flores with Jackson's note ad loc.; Wigodsky (1972), 71]
3.296 Aeacidae Pyrrhi	474–5 at non sic dubius fuit hostis Aeacida Burrus [see on <i>Aen.</i> 2.540–1] 167 aio te Aeacida Romanos uincere posse 197–8 stolidum genus Aeacidarum : bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientipotentis
3.360–1 (<i>Divination (Aeneas to Helenus)</i>) <i>qui sidera sentis et uolucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae</i>	(<i>Divination (Romulus and Remus)</i>) 88–9 corpora sancta auium, praepetibus sese pulcrisque locis dant.

- 74–5 in *†monte Remus auspicio sedet atque secundam | solus auem seruat*
[for possible links with the alliterative Ann. 74–5, see Horsfall (2006) on Aen. 3.360 and 361 (*praepes*)]
- 3.380 **Saturnia Iuno** [see on 1.23]
- 3.415 tantum **aeui longinqua** ualet mutare **uetustas** 406 postremo **longinqua** dies confecerit **aetas**
[Lucr. 2.69 (*longinquo . . . aeuo*); Horsfall (2006) on Aen. 3.415]
- 3.503 **Hesperiam** [see on 1.530]
- 3.511 corpora **curamus**, fessos sopor inrigat artus. 367–8 laetantes, uino **curatos** somnus repente | in campo passim mollissimus perculit acris
[Horsfall (2006) on Aen. 3.511: ‘sleep, men scattered in the field, and bodily needs met suggest that here V. may well have had Enn. in mind’]
- 3.587 et lunam in nimbo **nox intempesta tenebat** 33 quom superum lumen **nox intempesta teneret**
[G. 1.247; Aen. 12.846] [Lucr. 5.986. Horsfall (2006) on Aen. 3.587 ‘here V. does expect Enn. to be recognised’]
- (Cyclops)
- 3.626–7 uidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo | **manderet** 125 uolturus in *†spineto†* miserum **mandebat** homonem
[probably Mettus Fufetius. For the Cyclops, cf. ‘Livius refictus’, a post-Ennian hexameter version of Livius’ Odussia (Courtney FLP fr. 2, p. 45 = 39 FPL): cum socios nostros **mandisset** impius Cyclops; for the verb, cf. Acc. Atreus 59 Dangel (*manderem* natos); Horsfall (2006) on Aen. 3.627]
- (Cyclops)
- 3.630 **expletus** dapibus **uinoque sepultus** 319–20 **Cyclopis** uenter uelut olim turserat alte | carnibus humanis **distentus**
[perhaps a comparisn with the one-eyed Philip of Macedon: Skutsch ad loc.]
288 nunc hostes **uino domiti somnoque sepulti** [see on 2.265]
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<i>Aeneid</i> 4	<i>Annales</i>
4.37–8 ductores . . . , quos Africa terra triumphis diues alit	309 Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu [‘presumably the panic caused in Africa by the arrival of Scipio’s fleet’ (Skutsch ad loc.); cf. <i>Sat.</i> 10–11 Vahlen ² <i>testes sunt</i> <i>lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos</i>]
4.92 Saturnia (Juno) [see on 1.23]	
4.355 Hesperiae [see on 1.530]	
4.386 dabis . . . poenas [see on 2.366]	
4.398 natat uncta carina [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 8.91 (<i>labitur uncta uadis abies</i>)]	376 labitur uncta carina , uolat super impetus undas
4.404 it nigrum campis agmen	502 it nigrum campis agmen [Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 4.404: <i>hemistichium Ennii de elephantis dictum, quo ante Accius usus est de Indis.</i>]
4.452 lucemque relinquit [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 12.62–3]	137 postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit
4.465–73 (<i>Dido’s dream</i>)	34–50 (<i>Ilia’s dream</i>) [Krevans (1993); Wigodsky (1972), 69]
4.482 (Atlas) axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum [= <i>Aen.</i> 6.797]	145 caelum prospexit stellis fulgentibus aptum 348 hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta
4.576 sancte deorum	53 respondit Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum
4.583 adnixa torquent spumas et caerulea uerrunt [see on 3.208]	
4.700–2 (<i>Iris</i>)	(<i>Iris</i>) 399–400 <i>Arcus ubi aspicitur, mortalibus quae perhibetur</i> < <i>Iris</i> >

<i>Aeneid</i> 5	<i>Annales</i>
5.13 heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi? [one of two uses of the archaic word in Virgil (the other being part of Jupiter’s speech at <i>Aen.</i> 10.6)]	246 quianam dictis nostris sententia flexa est? 121 quianam legiones caedimus ferro [also found in Naevius (18 Str. = 16 FPL)]
5.71 ore fauete omnes	425–6 hic insidiantes uigilant, partim requiescunt succincti gladiis, sub scutis, ore fauentes (<i>Naumachia</i>)
5.114–285 (<i>Ship race</i>) [pp. 122–7]	
5.140 ferit aethera clamor [see on 2.488]	
5.141–3 <i>nauticus</i> , adductis spumant freta uersa lacertis. infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit conuulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.	377–8 uerrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flauo caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum [‘a fleet suddenly setting out at speed’: Skutsch, p. 542]

5.142–7 (Chariot simile) [p. 125]	(Chariot simile?)
5.145 <i>effusi carcere currus</i>	463–5 <i>quom a carcere fusi. currus cum sonitu magno permittere certant. quomque gubernator magna contorsit equos ui</i>
5.188–97 (Mnestheus urging on his crew) [p. 126]	467 <i>hortatore bono prius quam sam finibus termo</i>
5.241–2 at pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem impulit	581 atque manu magna Romanos impulit amnis
5.338 <i>fremituque secundo</i> [see on 8.90]	
5.451 it clamor caelo [see on 2.488]	
5.500 <i>tum ualidis flexos incuruant uiribus arcus</i> [see on 2.50]	
5.606 Saturnia Iuno [see on 1.23]	
5.657–8 (<i>Iris</i>) [see on 4.700–2]	
5.709–18, 755–8 (Foundation of Acesta in Acestes' name) [pp. 117–8]	(Foundation of Acesta in Acestes' name) <i>Euhemerus, Var. 127–30 Vahlen</i> ² : <i>Aeneas . . . conditae urbi Acestae hospitis nomen inposuit, ut eam postmodum laetius ac libens Acestes diligeret augeter ornaret.</i>
5.778 aequore uerrens [see on 3.208]	

Aeneid 6

Annales

6.160 inter sese [G. 1.489; 4.174; <i>Aen.</i> 8.452; 10.146; 12.720]	251 miscent inter sese inimicitias agitantes
6.179–82 (Tree-felling (I)) [p. 14 with n. 50; p. 66 n. 121; cf. <i>Aen.</i> 11.135–8]	175–9 (Tree-felling)
itur in antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum; procumbunt piceae, <i>sonat</i> icta securibus ilex <i>fraxineaeque</i> trabes cuneis et fissile robur scinditur, aduoluunt ingentis montibus ornos.	incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex , fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta, pinus proceras peruortunt: omne <i>sonabat</i> arbustum fremitu siluai frondosai. [perhaps cremation of the dead after Heraclea. (Silius 10.529–34 uses the <i>topos</i> for the cremation of the Carthaginian dead after Cannae (Skutsch ad loc.); Williams (1968), 263–7; Wigodsky (1972), 57–8; Goldberg (1995), 83–5; Schmidt (1997); Hinds (1998), 10–14; cf. <i>Il.</i> 23.114–20]

<i>Aeneid</i> 6	<i>Annales</i>
6.185 atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde uolutat [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 8.522]	507 haud temere est quod tu tristi cum corde gubernas
6.219 (Misenus' body)	147 (Tarquin's body)
corpusque lauant frigentis et unguunt	exin Tarquinius bona femina lauit et unxit
6.280 Discordia demens [p. 138 n. 116]	225 Discordia taetra
6.625–6 (Many mouths topos)	(Many mouths topos)
non , mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum , ferrea uox [= G.2.43–4]	469–70 non si lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem sint in me, tum ferro cor sit pectusque reuinctum [<i>Il.</i> 2.488–90; Hostius, Courtney <i>FLP</i> fr. 3: non si mihi linguae centum atque ora sient totidem uocesque liquatae: Wigodsky (1972), 98; Gowers (2007), 27–8; <i>PHerc.</i> 21 <i>pezzo</i> 5 fr. 2 assigns Ennius' lines firmly to Book 6: Kleve (1990), 9; <i>Ann.</i> 178–9 Flores with Jackson's note ad loc.; Jackson (<i>Ann.</i> 177 Flores) connects the lines with <i>Ann.</i> 164.]
6.638 amoena uirecta	38 amoena salicta
6.554 caelicolae [see on 2.592]	
6.585 dantem . . . poenas [see on 2.366]	
6.679–899 (Meeting of Aeneas and the spirit of Anchises) [p. 82 n. 49; pp. 166–8]	(Meeting of Ennius and the spirit of Homer)
6.686 effusae . . . genis lacrimae	lacrimas effundere <i>salsas</i> [<i>Lucr.</i> 1.125 = <i>Ann.</i> <i>I.iv</i>]
6.724–51 (Metempsychosis)	<i>Ann.</i> <i>I.iv</i> –x (Metempsychosis)
6.728 genus . . . uolantum	76 genus altiuolantum
6.738 modis . . . miris	<i>sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris</i> [= <i>Lucr.</i> 123 in a highly Ennian context = <i>Ann.</i> <i>I.iv</i> with Skutsch ad loc.]
6.748 rotam uoluere per annos [p. 167 n. 76]	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 6.748: <i>est autem sermo Ennii</i> [= <i>Ann.</i> <i>I.x</i>]
6.756–892 (Parade of Roman heroes) [pp. 170–8]	
6.779 uidēn	<i>Servius</i> on 6.779: <i>posuit secutus Ennium</i> [on the shortening of –den; but no Ennian example survives (= <i>Ann.</i> 622): Skutsch ad loc.]
6.781 en huius, nate, auspicii illa incluta Roma [p. 170]	155 augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est [cf. 72–91: the auspice-taking of Romulus and Remus]

6.787 caelicolas [see on 2.592]	
6.797 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum [see on 4.482]	
6.839 Aeaciden [see on 3.296].	
6.842–3 duo fulmina belli Scipiadas [p. 26 n. 37; p. 178 n. 113]	[Ennian phrase?: Norden (1957) on <i>Aen.</i> 6.842; cf. <i>Lucr.</i> 3.1034 with Kenney (1984) <i>ad</i> <i>loc.</i> ; Skutsch (1968), 145–50]
6.846 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem [pp. 170–1; cf. pp. 154–6]	363 unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem
6.857 hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu	495 qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere uoltis [for <i>tumltu</i> at line end, cf. <i>Ann.</i> 309: <i>Africa</i> <i>terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu</i>]
6.866 nox . . . circumuolat [see on 2.360]	
6.873 Tiberine [<i>Aen.</i> 7.30, 797; 8.31; 9.125; 10.833; 11.449]	26 teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto

<i>Aeneid</i> 7	<i>Annales</i>
7.4 Hesperia [see on 1.530]	
7.25 iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto	85 exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux 572 inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum [p. 80 n. 37]
7.27 repente resedit	46 repente recessit
7.28 flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae . [<i>Aen.</i> 7.718; 10.208]	377 uerrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flauo [cf. tonsa at 218, 219, 294]
7.30 Tiberinus [see on 6.873]	
7.37–45 (Major proem to Book 7) [pp. 54–5; 131–3]	206–12 (Major proem to Book 7)
7.41 horrida bella	[possible Ennian source: Fordyce (1977) <i>ad loc.</i> ; Norden (1957) on <i>Aen.</i> 6.87]
7.44 Hesperiam [see on 1.530]	
7.45 moueo [p. 55; cf. on 1.262]	
7.89 multa modis simulacra uidet uolitantia miris [see on 2.772]	
7.281 spirantes naribus ignem	606 funduntque elatis naribus lucem
7.295–6 num capti potuere capi? num incensa cremauit Toia uiros?	344–5 Pergama quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire nec quom capta capi nec quom combusta cremari

<i>Aeneid</i> 7	<i>Annales</i>
[cf. <i>Aen.</i> 9.599 (<i>bis capti Phryges</i>); 11.402 (<i>gentis bis uictae</i>); 12.34 (<i>bis . . . uicti</i>)]	[perhaps the people of Lampsacus in Asia Minor in a plea to Rome for protection against Antiochus; Skutsch ad loc.; Wigodsky (1972), 70; cf. Elliott (2008), 264–9 on Ennian connections in Juno's words]
7.323–571 (<i>Allecto</i>) [pp. 133–5]	(Discordia)
7.325–6 <i>cui tristia bella iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi</i>	[Fernandelli (1999), 25 on <i>cordi</i> as metapoetic nod to Ennius' <i>Dis-cordia</i> ; cf. <i>Aen.</i> 7.545]
7.327–8 <i>sorores Tartareae</i>	220 <i>corpore tartarino</i>
7.331 <i>uirgo sata Nocte</i>	220 <i>corpore tartarino prognata Paluda uirago</i>
7.428 <i>Saturnia</i> (Juno) [see on 1.23]	
7.459 <i>perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor</i> [see on 3.175]	
7.516–7 <i>audiit amnis sulphurea Nar albus aqua</i> [p. 136 n. 110]	222 <i>sulpureas</i> posuit spiramina Naris ad undas
7.520 <i>concurrunt undique telis</i>	144 <i>hastis ansatis, concurrunt undique telis</i>
7.525 <i>ferro . . . decernunt</i>	132 <i>adnuit sese mecum decernere ferro</i>
[<i>Aen.</i> 11.218; 12.282, 695, 709 (<i>cernere ferro</i>)]	185 <i>ferro . . . cernamus</i>
7.526 <i>horrescit strictis seges ensibus</i>	384 <i>horrescit telis exercitus asper utrimque</i>
[cf. <i>Aen.</i> 11.601–2; 12.662–4]	267 <i>densantur campis horrentia tela uirorum</i> [Il. 4.281–2; 7.62; 13.339; Wigodsky (1972), 48; cf. Scipio (<i>Varia</i> 14 Vahlen ²), <i>sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret</i>]
7.543 <i>Hesperiam</i> [see on 1.530]	
7.545 <i>en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi</i> [p. 135; cf. 7.325–6]	
7.560 <i>Saturnia</i> [see on 1.23]	
7.563–71 (<i>Plutonium at Ampsanctus</i>) [pp. 135–6]	222 (<i>Plutonium in the Nar valley</i>)
7.572 <i>Saturnia</i> [see on 1.23]	
7.595 <i>pendetis sanguine poenas</i> [see on 2.366]	
7.601–22 (Gates of War) [pp. 136–8]	(Gates of War)
7.622 <i>Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis</i>	225–6 <i>postquam Discordia taetra Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit</i>
7.622 <i>Saturnia</i> [see on 1.23]	
7.625 <i>omnes arma requirunt</i>	169 <i>balantum pecudes quatit, omnes arma requirunt</i>
	[perhaps part of a description of preparations in Rome on the news of Pyrrhus' landing; according to Skutsch, the use of the same words to describe the warlike preparations following upon another stranger's arrival in Italy is 'probably more than a coincidence' (Skutsch, p. 336)]

7.629 <i>magnae . . . urbes</i>	590 <i>urbes magnas</i> atque imperiosas [Horsfall (2000) on <i>Aen.</i> 7.629]
7.641ff. (<i>Catalogue</i>)	(<i>Catalogue?</i>) 229 <i>Marsa manus, Paeligna cohors, Vestina uirum uis</i> [Skutsch ad loc, following Timpanaro (1948): it is 'very probable' that the line belonged to a catalogue of warriors corresponding to that in <i>Aeneid</i> 7]
7.660 <i>sub luminis . . . oras</i> [G. 2.47 (in <i>luminis oras</i>)]	109 <i>tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras</i> 135 <i>at sese sum quae dederat in luminis oras</i> [<i>Lucr.</i> 1.22, etc.]
7.691 <i>Messapus</i> [p. 54 n. 68; p. 139]	Serv. ad <i>Aen.</i> 7.691 <i>ab hoc Ennius dicit se originem ducere</i> = <i>Ann.</i> 524. [Casali (2006a)]
7.718 <i>marmor</i> [see on 7.28]	
7.766 <i>explerit sanguine poenas</i> [see on 2.366]	
7.781 <i>aequore campi</i>	124 <i>tractatus per aequora campi</i> [<i>Lucr.</i> 3.1002]
7.797 <i>Tiberine</i> [see on 6.873]	

<i>Aeneid</i> 8	<i>Annales</i>
8.26–67 (Aeneas' dream of the Tiber) [pp. 85–6]	34–50 (Ilia's dream)
8.31 <i>Tiberinus</i> [see on 6.873]	
8.36 <i>O sate gente deum</i> [of Aeneas]	108 <i>O sanguen dis oriundum</i> [of Romulus: Binder (1971), 17]
8.67 <i>nox Aenean somnusque reliquit</i> (Prayer to the Tiber) [p. 79]	50 <i>uix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit</i> (Prayer to the Tiber)
8.72 <i>tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto</i>	26 <i>teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto</i>
8.77 (Thybris) <i>corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum</i> [p. 88]	63–4 <i>postquam constitit †isti fluuius, qui est omnibus princeps</i> † <i>qui sub ouilia†</i>
8.81–3 with 8.42–8 (Alban foundation prodigy of the white sow) [pp. 86–8]	65–8; <i>Ann.</i> I.xlii and xliiv (Roman foundation prodigy of the she-wolf)
8.81 <i>mirabile monstrum</i>	[‘ <i>mirabile monstrum</i> ’ appears in Cicero’s poetry (23.20 <i>Blänsdorf</i>), with a possible Ennian source (Wiemer (1933) on <i>Aen.</i> 8.81; Norden (1957), 374)]
8.82 <i>candida per siluam</i>	66–8 <i>lupus femina . . . conicit in siluam sese</i>
8.86–9 (Flooding of the Tiber) [pp. 88–90]	(Flooding of the Tiber at the exposure of Romulus and Remus) <i>Origo gentis Romanae</i> 20.3 = <i>Ann.</i> xliiv

<i>Aeneid</i> 8	<i>Annales</i>
8.90 rumore secundo [<i>Aen.</i> 5.338 (<i>fremituque secundo</i>); 10.266 (<i>clamore secundo</i>)]	243–4 legio †redditu †rumore †ruinas mox auferre domos populi rumore secundo [<i>rumore secundo</i> : ‘a stereotyped phrase denoting the murmur of approval from a crowd’: Skutsch ad loc.; cf. Sueius: <i>redeunt, repetita ferunt rumore secundo</i> (Courtney <i>FLP</i> fr. 7, p. 116; <i>CLE</i> 252.2; <i>Cic. Div.</i> 1.29; <i>Hor. Epist.</i> 1.10.9)]
8.91 labitur uncta uadis abies [p. 90 n. 67; see on 4.398]	
8.134–41 (Aeneas’ genealogy) [p. 92 n. 78; cf. p. 52]	(Aeneas’ genealogy)
	28–9 Assaraco natus Capys optimus isque pium ex se Anchisen generat [<i>Il.</i> 20.239; Skutsch ad loc.]
8.137 (<i>Atlas</i>) <i>aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis</i>	27 (<i>Atlas</i> ?) <i>qui caelum uersat stellis fulgentibus aptum</i> [<i>thought on the basis of Aen.</i> 8.137 to refer to <i>Atlas</i> as part of a genealogy given by Aeneas: Skutsch ad loc.; <i>Ann.</i> 29 Flores; cf. Wigodsky (1972), 43 and n. 203; Binder (1971) 60–1; cf. on <i>Aen.</i> 4.482]
8.148 Hesperiam [see on 1.530]	
8.150–1 accipe daque fidem . sunt nobis fortia bello pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuuentus. [p. 92]	32 accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum
8.319–36 (Evander’s prehistory of Latium) [p. 94 n. 85]	[<i>for a possible aetiology in the Annales paralleling Evander’s of the ‘Saturnia terra’, see Skutsch on Ann.</i> 24; see also <i>Enn. Euhemerus Var.</i> 94–7 Vahlen ² : <i>uix in Italia locum in quo lateret inuenit</i> , with Johnston (1977), 63–7]
8.329 Saturnia tellus [cf. on. 1.569]	
8.358 <i>illi fuerat Saturnia nomen</i> [see on 1.569]	
8.500 flos ueterum uirtusque uirum	<i>Serv. Dan.</i> on <i>Aen.</i> 8.500: <i>Ennianum</i> ; cf. 308 flos delibatus populi Suadaique medulla
8.452 inter sese [see on 6.160]	
8.522 multaque dura tuo tristi cum corde putabant [see on 6.185]	
8.538 quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis [see on 2.366]	
8.596 quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum [cf. 11.875]	242 explorant Numidae, totam quatit ungula terram 263 consequitur. summo sonitu quatit ungula terram

	431 it eques et plausu caua concutit ungula terram
8.626–731 (Shield of Aeneas) [pp. 53; 87–8; 96; 167; 172–3]	
8.630–4 (Lupercal) [pp. 87–8]	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 8.631: <i>sane totus hic locus Ennianus est</i> [= <i>Ann.</i> I.xlii: Skutsch ad loc.]
8.647 ingentique urbem obsidione premebat	25 cum †suo obsidio magnus Titanus premebat
8.650 <i>pontem . . . uellere Cocles</i> [pp. 183–7]	(<i>Horatius Cocles?</i>)
8.652–8 (Gallic attack) [p. 99]	(Gallic attack)
	227–8 qua Galli furtim noctu summa arcis adorti moenia concubia uigilesque repente cruentant
8.672 fluctu spumabat caerula cano [see on 3.208]	
8.679 cum . . . magnis dis [see on 3.12]	
8.702 Discordia [p. 138 n. 116]	225 Discordia taetra

<i>Aeneid</i> 9	<i>Annales</i>
9.2 Saturnia Iuno [see on 1.23]	
9.14–15 Iris [see on 4.700–2]	
9.125 Tiberinus [see on 6.873]	
9.165 uertunt crateras aënos	Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 9.165: <i>et est hemestichium Ennianum</i> [= <i>Ann.</i> 532]
9.189 somno uinoque soluti [see on 2.265; for the implications of the possible context here, see also Hardie (1994) ad loc.]	
9.236 somno uinoque soluti [see on 2.265]	
9.316 passim somno uinoque per herbam [see on 2.265]	
9.320 ipsa uocat res	422 quo res sapsa loco sese ostentatque iubetque
9.422 calido mihi sanguine poenas [see on 2.366]	
9.446–9 (<i>Apostrophe to Nisus and Euryalus on the durability of poetry</i>)	(<i>The durability of poetry?</i>)
	404–5 reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt, aedificant nomen, summa nituntur opum ui [Skutsch ad loc.; Hardie (1994) on <i>Aen.</i> 9.446–9]
9.505–9 (<i>Volscian besiegers</i>)	(<i>Volscians besieged at the Battle of Tarracina (Anxur)</i>)
	152 Volsculus perdidit Anxur [Hardie (1994) on <i>Aen.</i> 9.532]

Aeneid 9

Annales

9.503 at tuba **terribilem sonitum** procul
aere canoro

9.528 et mecum **ingentis oras euoluite belli**
[pp. 190–1]

9.532 **summaque euertere opum ui** [cf.
12.552]

9.599 *bis capti Phryges* [see on 7.295]

9.672–755 (*Pandarus and Bitias*)
[p. 183 n. 123]

9.705 *sed magnum stridens contorta*
phalarica ueni [p. 131; cf. p. 109]

9.720 **undique conueniunt**

9.745 **Saturnia Iuno** [see on 1.23]

9.759 *ultimus ille dies*

9.783 **unus homo . . . uestris**

9.802 **Saturnia Iuno** [see on 1.23]

9.806–14 (*Turnus under heavy fire*)
[pp. 180–6]

ergo nec clipeo iuuenis subsistere tantum |
nec dextra ualet, iniectis sic **undique telis** |
obruitur. strepit adsiduo caua tempora
circum | **tinnitu galea** et saxis solida aera
fatiscent | discussaeque iubae capiti, nec
sufficit **umbo** | ictibus; ingeminant hastis
Troes . . . | . . . tum **toto corpore sudor** |
liquitur et piceum (**nec respirare potestas**) |
flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus
artus.

451 at tuba **terribili sonitu** tarantara dixit

164 quis potis **ingentis oras euoluere belli**?
[Cf. Lucr. 5.1–2 *quis potis est dignum*
pollenti pectora carmen | condere?]

151 Romani scalis: **summa** nituntur
opum ui

(*Two Istrians sallying forth from the gates*)
[Macrob. 6.2.32 = Ann. XV.iv. *The episode*
may have been connected originally with
Ann. 391–8: Skutsch, pp. 556–7 and Hardie
(1994) on Aen. 9.672–755; cf. Il. 12.127–94
(*Polypoetes and Leonteus*)]

557 *quae ualide ueniunt* **falarica missa**

391 **undique conueniunt**

[Hardie (1994) on Aen. 9.759 compares the
description of the fall of Troy at 2.248–9
(*ultimus . . . ille dies*) and Livy 5.21.5 on the
Romans entering Veii: ‘Ennius’ account of
the fall of Alba may lie behind all of the these
passages’: cf. on Aen. 2.313 and 2.485]

363 **unus homo nobis** cunctando restituit
rem

391–8 (*The tribune Caelius under heavy*
fire)

undique conueniunt uelut imber **tela**
tribuno: | configunt parmam, **tinnit**
hastilibus umbo, | aerato sonitu **galeae**, sed
nec pote quisquam | **undique** nitendo
corpus discerpere ferro. | semper abundantes
hastas frangitque quatitque. | **totum sudor**
habet corpus, multumque laborat, | **nec**
respirandi fit copia: praepete ferro | Histri
tela manu iacentes sollicitabant.
[cf. Il. 16.102–11 and on Aen. 9.672–55]

<i>Aeneid</i> 10	<i>Annales</i>
10.1–117 (<i>Concilium deorum</i>) [pp. 127–9]	51–6 (<i>Concilium deorum</i>)
10.2 diuum pater atque hominum rex [see on 1.65]	
10.5 bipatentibus	Servius on <i>Aen.</i> 10.5: <i>sermo Ennianus</i> [= <i>Ann.</i> 52; cf. Harrison (1991a) on 10.5: ‘extremely rare epithet seems very likely to derive from Ennius, probably from the parallel divine assembly’]
10.6 caelicolae [see on 2.592]	
10.6–7 quianam sententia uobis uersa retro [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 5.13]	246 quianam dictis nostris sententia flexa est
10.8 abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris	262 certare abnuero. metuo legionibus labem [verb and construction are Ennian: Harrison (1991a) on <i>Aen.</i> 10.8. Perhaps Aemilius Paullus refusing to engage Hannibal because the time for battle was not ripe: Skutsch ad loc.]
10.11–14 (The Second Punic War) [pp. 129–30]	
adueniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus, cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim exitium magnum atque Alpīs immittet apertas: tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.	
10.14 res rapuisse	253 rem repetunt [Norden (1915), 51 n. 2]
10.97 caelicolae [see on 2.592]	
10.101 deum domus	586 diuum domus
10.101–3 (<i>Silence for Jupiter</i>) <i>eo dicente deum domus alta silesit et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether, tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus</i>	Scipio 9–12 Vahlen ² : <i>mundus caeli uastus constitit silentio et Neptunus saeuus undis asperis pausam dedit, sol equis iter repressit ungulis uolantibus, constitere amnes perennes, arbores uento uacant.</i> [Macrob. 6.2.26; Harrison (1991a) on <i>Aen.</i> 10.101ff. (‘undoubtedly a model here’); Scholz (1984), 196–9]
10.104 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta	187 hoc simul accipe dictum
10.108 Tros Rutulusne fuat, nullo discrimine habebo [cf. <i>Aen.</i> 1.574 <i>Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine habebo</i> (Dido’s offer to the Trojans)]	234–5 hostem qui feriet ferit (inquit) mi <i>Carthaginiensis quisquis erit. cuiatis siet</i> [Skutsch, p. 414 (Virgil’s Jupiter may be drawing on Hannibal’s words in the <i>Annales</i>)]
10.111–12 sua cuique exorsa laborem fortunamque ferent. rex Iuppiter omnibus idem	233 fortibus est fortuna uiris data 232 non semper uostra euortit: nunc Iuppiter hac stat

Aeneid 10

Annales

[233 perhaps part of the speech of a leader exhorting his men, while the speaker of 232 may be Hannibal (Skutsch ad locc.; the fragments were linked by Norden (1915), 50 as part of his reconstructed concilium deorum in Annales 7 (not generally accepted)]

10.117 **caelicolae** [see on 2.592]

10.146 **inter sese** [see on 6.160]

10.208 **marmore** [see on 7.28]

10.216 **pulsabat Olympum**

10.266 **clamore secundo** [see on 8.90]

10.284 **audentis Fortuna** *iuuat*

10.356–9 (Simile of warring winds)

magno discordes aethere uenti | proelia ceu tollunt animis et uiribus aequis; | non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit; | anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra

10.361 **concurrent, haeret pede pes**
densusque uiro uir

10.394–6 **nam tibi, Thymbre, caput**
Euandrius abstulit ensis; | te decisa suum,
Laride, dextera quaerit | semianimesque
micant digiti ferrumque retractant.

10.488 **sonitum super arma dedere**

10.531–3 **argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta | gnatis parce tuis. belli commercia** Turnus | **sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante preempto.** [p. 178 n. 113]

1 **pulsatis Olympum**

233 **fortibus est fortuna uiris data**

432–4 (Simile of warring winds)

concurrent ueluti uenti, quom spiritus Austri | imbricator Aquiloque suo cum flamine contra | indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant

[Il. 9.4–7; 16.765–70; Skutsch, p. 594 on details such as the naming of the winds, the stirring of the sea, which (along with the Ennian ring of 10.361) suggest that ‘Virgil remembered Ennius’ passage’.]

584 **premitur pede pes** atque armis arma teruntur

[Il. 13.131 = 16.215; Furius Bibaculus, *Annales Belli Gallici*, Courtney FLP fr. 10, p. 196 (= fr. 75 Hollis (2007)): *pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, uiro uir*]

483–4 **oscitat in campis caput a ceruice**
reuolsum | semianimisque micant oculi
lucemque requirunt.

[Varro Atacinus, Courtney FLP fr. 2, p. 238 (= fr. 107 Hollis (2007)): *semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt*]

411 **concidit et sonitum simul insuper arma dederunt**

183–90 **nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis: | non cauponantes bellum** sed belligerantes | **ferro, non auro uitam cernamus utrique.** | **uosne uelit an me regnare era quidue ferat Fors** | **uirtute experiamur, et hoc simul accipe dictum:** | **quorum uirtuti belli fortuna pepercit | eorundem me libertati parcere certum est.** | **dono—ducite—doque—uolentibus cum magnis dis.**

10.617 pio det sanguine poenas [see on 2.366]

10.659 Saturnia [see on 1.23]

10.669 expendere poenas [see on 2.366]

10.720 Graius homo

165 nauos repertus homo, Graio patre,
Graius homo, rex
[(of Pyrrhus); cf. Lucr. 1.66 (of Epicurus)]

10.743 diuum pater atque hominum rex
[see on 1.65]

10.760 Saturnia Iuno [see on 1.23]

10.822 modis . . . pallentia miris [see on 2.772]

*sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia
miris* [Lucr. 1.123 (= Ann. I.iv)]

10.833 Tiberini [see on 6.873]

Aeneid 11

Annales

11.8 bellipotens (of Mars)

198 bellipotentēs (of the race of Aeacus)

11.27 non uirtutis egentem [p. 179]

Serv. on *Aen.* 11.27: *Ennii uersus est* (= *Ann.* 605)

11.135–8 (Tree-felling (II)) [see on 6.179–82]

11.192 it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque
tubarum [see on 2.488]

11.201–2 nox umida donec | inuertit caelum
stellis ardentibus aptum [see on 4.482]

11.218 decernere ferro [see on 7.525]

11.225–42 (Return of the embassy to
Diomedes)

202 orator sine pace redit regique refert rem
[Skutsch ad loc. suggests a context of Cineas’
embassy to Rome after Ausculum on behalf
of Pyrrhus to negotiate peace. Cf. Horsfall
(2003), 164: ‘How much the bridge passage,
225–42, owes as a whole to Enn. Ann.
202 . . . we cannot tell’.]

11.252 Saturnia regna [see on 1.569
(Saturnia terra)]

11.305–7 cum gente deorum | inuictisque
uiris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant | proelia
nec uicti possunt absistere ferro
[cf. on 7.295–6]

344–5 Pergama quae neque Dardaniis
campis potuere perire | nec quom capta capi
nec quom combusta cremari

11.402 gentis bis uictae [see on 7.295–6]

11.425–7 multa dies uariique labor
mutabilis aevi | rettulit in melius, multos
alterna reuisens | lusit et in solido rursus
Fortuna locauit

258 **multa dies** in bello conficit unus
259–60 et rursus multae fortunae forte
recumbunt: | haud quaquam quemquam
semper **fortuna secuta est**

<i>Aeneid</i> 11	<i>Annales</i>
11.440–2 (' <i>deutio</i> ' of Turnus) [pp. 188–9] uobis animam hanc soceroque Latino Turnus ego, haud ulli ueterum uirtute secundus, deuoui. [cf. on 12.234–5] 11.445ff. (<i>Beginning of battle</i>)	[Skutsch and Flores (<i>Ann.</i> 279–83 Flores) assign these fragments to a speech by Aemilius Paullus, trying to restrain his colleague in the run-up to Cannae (in which Paullus was killed). Turnus gives the opposite advice and 'makes success follow defeat' (Skutsch, p. 440)] 191–4 (<i>deutio</i> of Decius) diui hoc audite parumper: ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis certando prudens animam de corpore mitto, <sic> [<i>'an intense concentration of archaic/specifically Ennian language'</i> introduces the cavalry battle (Horsfall (2003), p. xvi and on <i>Aen.</i> 11.446 for minor parallels of language and usage).]
11.449 Tiberino [see on 6.873] 11.492–7 (Stallion simile) [p. 191 n. 151] qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia uinclis tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto emicat, arrectisque premit ceruicibus alte luxurians luduntque iubae per colla, per amos.	(Stallion simile) 535–9 et tum, sicut equos qui de praesepibus fartus uincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata celso pectore; saepe iubam quassat simul altam, spiritu ex animia calida spumas agit albas [<i>Il.</i> 6.506–14 = 15.263–70; cf. G. 3.193–4; <i>Apoll.</i> 3.1259–62]
11.592 det sanguine poenas [see on 2.366] 11.597–647 (<i>Cavalry fighting outside the walls</i>) 11.597 at manus interea muris Troiana propinquat 11.601–2 huc conuersus et huc; tum late ferreus hastis horret ager campique armis sublimibus ardent. [cf. on 7.526] 11.610–11 undique tela crebra niuis ritu	<i>Serv.</i> on <i>Aen.</i> 11.608: et Enniana est omnis haec ambitiosa descriptio [Skutsch, p. 698; Wigodsky (1972), 59–60; Horsfall (2003) on 597–647 (<i>cautious</i>)] 550 atque atque accedit muros Romana iuuentus 144 undique telis; cf. Wiemer (1933), 55 (<i>'ennianisches Bild'</i>); Horsfall (2003) on niuis ritu (<i>Aen.</i> 11.610)
11.745 tollitur in caelum clamor cunctique Latini [cf. on 2.488] 11.875 quadripedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum [see on 8.596]	428 tollitur in caelum clamor exortus utrimque

<i>Aeneid</i> 12	<i>Annales</i>
12.19 <i>o praestans animi iuuenis</i>	<i>Dub. 15 o praestans animi iuuenis</i> [see Skutsch ad loc.; Tarrant (2012) on <i>Aen.</i> 12.19]
12.34 <i>bis magna uicti pugna uix urbe tuemur</i> [see on 7.295–6 and cf. Wigodsky (1972), 70: ‘the taunt turns back upon the Italians’]	[Livy 22.7.8 (the announcement of the Roman defeat by Hannibal at Lake Trasimene), <i>pugna . . . magna uicti sumus</i> , might originate in Ennius; cf. Polyb. 3.85.8; Wigodsky (1972), 70 n. 350]
12.62–3 <i>haec inuisa relinquam lumina</i>	137 <i>postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit</i>
[cf. <i>Aen.</i> 4.452]	[Tarrant (2012) on <i>Aen.</i> 12.62–3]
12.65–9 (<i>Lavinia’s blush</i>)	361 (<i>Blush</i>)
<i>flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit. Indum sanguineo ueluti uiolauerit ostro si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa alba rosa, talis uirgo dabat ore colores.</i>	<i>et simul erubuit ceu lacte et purpura mixta</i> [The fragment probably belongs to Book 11, but the context is unclear: Skutsch ad loc.; cf. Medea’s blush: Apoll. 3.297–8 and 963 with Nelis (2001), 378; Cairns (1980), 153 n. 10; Tarrant (2012) on <i>Aen.</i> 12.64–9]
12.93 <i>ualidam ui corripit hastam</i>	298 <i>uiri uaria ualidis uiribus luctant</i>
12.115 (Dawn)	606 (Dawn)
<i>Solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant</i>	<i>funduntque elatis naribus lucem</i> [word order altered in Virgil partly to to avoid –s scansion (Serv. on <i>Aen.</i> 12.115; Skutsch ad loc.)]
12.139 <i>diua deam</i>	19 <i>dia dearum</i> [cf. <i>Od.</i> 5.97 (θεὰ θεών)]
12.156 <i>Saturnia Iuno</i> [see on 1.23]	
12.161–215 (<i>Oath and treaty with Latinus</i>)	(<i>Oath and treaty with ‘Latinus’ (King of Alba)?</i>)
	32 <i>accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum</i> [Skutsch on <i>Ann.</i> 31 and 32; cf. Tarrant (2012), 132]
12.178 <i>Saturnia</i> [see on 1.23]	
12.234–5 <i>ille quidem ad superos, quorum se deuouet aris, succedet fama uiuusque per ora feretur</i> [pp. 189–90]	191–4 (<i>deuotio</i> of Decius) Cf. Ennius’ epitaph (Courtney <i>FLP</i> fr. 46): <i>nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu faxit. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum.</i>
12.247 <i>rubra . . . in aethera</i>	415–16 <i>interea fax occidit Oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra</i>
12.282 <i>sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro</i> [see on 7.525]	
12.283–4 <i>it toto turbida caelo tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber</i>	266 <i>hastati spargunt hastas. fit ferreus imber</i>
12.294 <i>telo . . . trabali</i>	607 <i>telo trabali</i> [Serv. <i>Dan.</i> on <i>Aen.</i> 12.294]
12.360 <i>Hesperiam</i> [see on 1.530]	

<i>Aeneid</i> 12	<i>Annales</i>
12.407–8 iam pu luere caelum stare uident	612 stat puluere campi [possibly part of the account of Cannae 'where dust played an important part' (Skutsch ad loc.); 'V.'s near quotation would have a particularly ominous resonance' (Tarrant (2012) on <i>Aen.</i> 12.407–8)]
12.462 tollitur in caelum clamor , uersique uicissim [cf. on 2.488]	428 tollitur in caelum clamor exortus utrimque
12.483 uoce uocat	49 blanda uoce uocabam
12.499 irarumque omnis effundit habenas	534 irarum effunde quadrigas
12.552 summa nituntur opum ui [see on 9.532]	
12.565 Iuppiter hac stat	232 non semper uostra euortit: nunc Iuppiter hac stat [perhaps Hannibal addressing his army before setting out for Italy (Skutsch ad loc.), or spoken by Jupiter himself or a divine messenger (Tomasco on <i>Ann.</i> 255 Flores)]
12.662–4 circum hos utrimque phalanges stant densae strictisque seges mucronibus horret ferrea [see on 7.526]	
12.695 decernere ferro [see on 7.525]	
12.709 cernere ferro [see on 7.525]	
12.718–19 <i>stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuuencae quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 78–83 (<i>Contetst of Romulus and Remus</i>) [The detail of the bulls contending for leadership of the entire herd, which awaits the outcome with anxiety 'recalls Ennius' account' and 'makes explicit what is at stake in the encounter' (Tarrant (2012) on <i>Aen.</i> 12.715–22)]
12.720 illi inter sese multa ui uulnera miscent [<i>inter sese</i> : <i>Aen.</i> 6.160; 8.452; 10.146]	251 miscent inter sese inimicitias agitantes
12.791–842 (The reconciliation of Juno (II)) [cf. on 1.279–82]	
12.807 Saturnia [see on 1.23]	
12.828 <i>occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia</i> [cf. on 7.295–6]	344–5 <i>Pergama quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire nec quom capta capi nec quom combusta cremari</i>
12.829 (Jupiter smiles at Juno) olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor [see on 1.254–5]	
12.846 Nox intempesta [see on 3.587]	
12.936–7 <i>uicisti et uictum tendere palmas Ausonii uidere</i>	513 <i>qui uincit non est uictor nisi uictus fatetur</i>
12.949 poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit [see on 2.366]	

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